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PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1929.

EMPIRE CLUB
OF
CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR 1929

Twenty-seventh Year of Issue

CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

GOD SAVE THE KING

TORONTO:
T. H. BEST PRINTING CO., LIMITED

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The Empire Club of Canada

PRINTED IN CANADA
T. H. BEST PRINTING CO., LIMITED
TORONTO, ONT.

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THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY
AND
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society and the Empire Club of Canada are affiliated with a view to promote mutually the object for which both were founded, namely, the Unity of the Empire. Each extends to visitors and members vouched for by the other the usual courtesies on arrival in London or Toronto.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE

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PREFATORY NOTE

The primary object aimed at in publishing this volume is to preserve in permanent form for the use of the Members, the Addresses delivered at the luncheons held in the course of the year; and it has become customary to draw attention to a few of the more important by a brief comment in this place.

"Impending developments in the Constitution of the British Empire" make a strong opening; and treated with the vigour and candour characteristic of Mr. Cahan, it has been welcomed as a serious contribution to a question of perennial interest.

To the subject of Canadian citizenship Mr. Justice Riddell has devoted much study and his discourse is an exhaustive mustering of the facts of an abstruce case such as Dr. Riddell delights to disentangle and clarify. Needless to say the subject is of fundamental importance to Canadians and is dealt with as such by the learned and versatile Justice.

The more than warm reception accorded Mr. Winston Churchill was a spontaneous tribute to distinguished merit, and his Address will remain with us as a fine example of a carefully considered public utterance by one of the most brilliant of responsible British Statesmen of the present day.

Following Mr. Churchill came Colonel L. C. M. S Amery. Stepping aside from the beaten track of politics and diplomacy for the moment, Colonel Amery enters a wider area of human affairs, and speaks of racial affinities and heterogeneities; the diverse traditions and social differences among native peoples in close contact with British interests in the near East. He recalls the past; ancient civilizations and their legacies; and we have a statesman's comprehensive survey of conditions which will inevitably bear on Imperial developments in the not distant future, in the choice words of a keen world observer and a practical philosopher.

A stately, commanding figure, with the inherited culture of the best of the Romanovs, the Grand Duke Alexander appeared a notable personage, suggesting indeed, the romance and pathos associated with his vanishing royal race. The vicissitudes of his chequered life, and of his family, as he related them, sometimes with unconscious buoyancy, sometimes pensively; his simple faith in the Divine order of things and his acceptance of a directed destiny, moved the feelings of the audience for one who bears extreme suffering with calm dignity and resigned acquiescence.

Of unusual interest is Mr. J. Murray Gibbon's Address on "The Music of the People", representing nationalities in the many distant lands from which Canada has drawn and still draws her population. In Mr. Gibbon's experienced hands the assimilative influence of diversified folk-music and song in the building up of nationhood is convincingly as well as charmingly described.

"The by-products of Empire" finds an eloquent and able exponent in the Rev. G. Stanley Russell, M.A., recently arrived from London, Eng., to enter on his ministry in Toronto. He, opportunely, puts forward views influentially entertained in Britain at the present time, when a world-wide concordat is earnestly prayed for.

It was apparent that the reasoned optimism of the buoyant west, so forcefully expressed by Mr. John W. Dafoe found immediate response in the minds of those who listened to his perfervid words, which are well worth a quiet perusal from the printed page. His far vision seems to be well sustained by practicable probabilities; and his appeal is one which "taken at the flood" holds out realizable prospects.

Professor Waugh draws attention to certain facts, emerging in recent years, which he considers as "disruptive influences in the British Commonwealth", and issues a warning against either indifference or thoughtless tolerance of such insidious and subtle tendencies. Whatever the estimate which may be placed on Professor Waugh's views no one will deny that his lucid presentation of a serious problem deserves careful consideration.

Although General Smuts spoke to us after the close of the year 1929, yet as he did so before the date on which the Annual Meeting of the Club was held, it has been deemed appropriate to include his speech in this volume of excellent addresses, rather than hold it over for this year's book. He spoke at a joint meeting of the Canadian and Empire Clubs; under the auspices of the former. His Address made a profound impression. In reproducing it, however, much of the fervour, the glow of restrained passion, and the magnetic spell of a gracious personality are to a regrettable extent, necessarily lost. The war hero; the strong, dexterous peace-maker; the far-seeing imperialist,—one and all—were exemplified in his person; and the vivid picture will endure, as well as his winged words which went unerringly to the heart of the listening public of Canada.

The visit of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to Mr. Hoover, last fall, was historically unique. It is appropriately mentioned here because of its epochal importance as a factor in Imperial affairs. During his brief stay in Toronto Members of the Club had an opportunity of hearing him speak publicly and of meeting him personally. It was then felt that whatever might be the immediate outcome of his conversations with Mr. Hoover, a momentous step had been taken which could not be retraced, a departure made in which the interests of the Empire are likely to be materially affected.

ALEXANDER FRASER,
Chairman Editorial Committee.

PENDING DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY C. H. CAHAN, K.C., M.P., MONTREAL, QUE.

17th January, 1929

PESIDENT ROBERT FENNELL introduced the speaker, who said: In accepting the invitation of the Empire Club to deliver an address on "Pending Developments in the Constitution of the British Empire", it has seemed to me useful to make a brief survey of the development and application of the principle of Dominion self-government in respect of our domestic affairs; to indicate to what extent each Dominion has already assumed the direction and control of all those external affairs which exclusively concern each such Dominion; to describe the radical changes in the Imperial structure which are now contemplated in order to carry into effect the declarations regarding equality of status, which were endorsed by the recent Imperial Conference; and to urge that all Canadians, who are in favour of maintaining the political unity of the British Commonwealth, should insist upon the cordial co-operation of our Dominion Governments with the Government of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the other five Dominions for attainment of their concerted action in all matters of common interest and concern.

The British Empire consists, on the one hand, of Great Britain with Northern Ireland, and that vast aggregation of colonies, dependent states, protectorates and possessions, which are directly within the legislative and executive control and direction of the Parliament and the

Government of the United Kingdom. India is not yet autonomous; but the Morley-Minto reforms, and their later development by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, and later under the Government of India Act of 1919, have provided a certain measure of self-government, which now seems likely to be extended as a result of the investigation now being carried out by the Indian Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. Then there are the six Dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfouudland, all of which, excepting Newfoundland, are independent members of the League of Nations. Only six years have elapsed since the Irish Free State accepted its new constitution as an autonomous Dominion.

The constitution of the British Empire, or the British Commonwealth of Nations, as it is more recently called, is found in a series of Imperial enactments by virtue of which these Dominions were created, and which in express terms provide for their peace, order and good government; in another series of Imperial statutes which by their express terms or by necessary implication apply to these Dominions and to other colonies and possessions of a widely extended Empire; in a series of Imperial Treaties or conventions concluded between the Imperial Government and the governments of foreign states, which determine the political and commercial relations between all or some parts of the British Empire with such foreign states; and in certain constitutional understandings, precepts or usages which have been accepted by the Government of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the Dominions, and which regulate inter-Dominion and inter-Imperial relations and the reciprocal duties and obligations of each to the other or others of its parts. Each succeeding generation of British, Dominion and Colonial statesmen has recognized the duty and responsibility of making its contribution, however meagre, to the living, growth and development of our political institutions.

AUTONOMY NEED NOT INVOLVE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

I have not now the time necessary to describe the several successive stages of the constitutional development which has taken place during the past century, by which these Dominions have secured complete control of their domestic affairs, in respect of which they have become, in name and in fact, autonomous states within the British Commonwealth of Nations, but Dominion autonomy does not necessarily involve the political independence of the Dominions.

The wisest statesmen of Great Britain, since the civil strife in Canada in 1837, have fully recognized that the permanent well-being of the Empire is best conserved by promoting the education of the peoples of the British Dominions and possessions in the exercise of the privileges of constitutional self-government and self-restrained enjoyment of civil liberty. Lord Durham, in his famous Report of January 31st, 1839, when the British North American Colonies had about one-tenth of our present population, referring to our political future, said:

> "If in the hidden decree of that wisdom by which this world is ruled, it is written that these countries are not forever to remain portions of the Empire, we (of England) owe it to our honour to take good care that when they separate from us, they should not be the only countries on the American continent in which the Anglo-Saxon race shall be found unfit to govern itself."

Since that date, the assertion in 1859 of our independence in the administration of our fiscal affairs, and later the confederation of the British North American Colonies in 1867, gave rise to serious apprehensions that as a result of our increasing autonomy our political connection with Great Britain would inevitably be severed in the near future. But Sir John A. Macdonald, then Attorney-General of Upper Canada, in moving in the adoption of the Quebec resolutions, which formed the constitutional bases of the Canadian Confederation, in a vivid and inspiring address to the Canadian people, expressed an entirely different vision of our political future. He said:

> "One argument, but not a strong one, has been urged against this Confederation, that it is an advance toward independence. Some are apprehensive that the very fact of our forming this union will hasten the time when we shall be severed from the mother country. I have no apprehension of that kind. I believe that it will have the contrary effect. I believe that as we grow stronger, that as it is felt in England that we have become a people, able from our union, our strength, our population, and the development of our resources, to take our place among the nations, she will be less willing to part with us than she would be now . . . .
>
> "And when, by means of this rapid increase, we become a nation of eight or nine millions of inhabitants, our alliance will be worthy of being sought by the great nations of the earth, I am proud to believe that our desire for a permanent alliance will be reciprocated in Great Britain.

That prophetic vision of three score and three years ago is now being fully realized. There has been throughout no overt-attempt on the part of the British Government to restrain or restrict the complete autonomy and absolute authority of the several Dominions in the administration of their domestic affairs, nor in the direction of such of their external affairs as solely concern themselves.

PARTICIPATION OF DOMINIONS IN DIRECTION OF FOREIGN POLICY

Political institutions develop from a conflict of ideas; and, for many years, two divergent tendencies have been manifest in the direction and control of our relations with foreign states, until now the governments of the Dominions participate in the direction of foreign policy. Gradually, in the negotiations of commercial conventions and treaties with foreign states, we have developed an almost complete autonomy. The commercial agreement with France in 1907 assured the right of this Dominion, which had been asserted by Sir Charles Tupper in 1884, to negotiate its own commercial conventions and treaties, a right which was fully recognized in 1922 and 1923. The implications of this tendency toward independent action on the part of the Dominions, in the matter of foreign relations, were suggested in Lord Ripon's despatch of 1895, when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies, from which I extract the following statement:

> "A foreign power can only be approached through Her Majesty's representative, and any agreement entered into with it, affecting any part of Her Majesty's Dominions, is an agreement between Her Majesty and the Sovereign of the foreign state; and it is to Her Majesty's Government that the foreign state would apply, in case of any question arising under it.
>
> "To give to the Colonies the power of negotiating Treaties for themselves without reference to Her Majesty's Government, would be to give them an international status as separate and sovereign states, and would be equivalent to breaking up the Empire into a number of independent states." (Parl. Papers 1895 XX. p. 16. c. 7824.)

Lord Ripon failed to realize that the time was even then approaching when His Majesty's prerogative right, to negotiate and to conclude treaties or conventions with foreign states, might be exercised on the advice of His Majesty's government in any Dominion in respect of matters which solely and exclusively appertain to the interests of that Dominion. Again and again, particularly at the Imperial Conferance of 1907 and 1911, the view was emphatically expressed that the Empire must be one from the point of view of its political treaty relations with all foreign states. We all remember Mr. Balfour's dictum in 1911 that Great Britain could not share with the Dominions the direction and control of foreign policy. But since 1911, the Great War has served to modify many previous political pronouncements. Throughout that war the direction and control of foreign policy and foreign relations was vested in the

British Foreign Office as the direction and control of the British forces in the several arenas of actual conflict was vested in the British War Office. Nevertheless the Governments of the several Dominions were necessarily taken more frequently into consultation by the Government of the United Kingdom, with the result that the constitutional resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1917 approved such re-adjustment of inter-Imperial relations as —

> "Should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several governments may determine."

Upon the termination of hostilities in the Great War, the Government of Canada insisted upon the constitutional right of the Dominions to representation in the peace negotiations at Paris, to participation in the execution of the Treaty of Versailles, and to have an independent representation in the assembly of the League of Nations, which was created by that treaty. The claim of the Dominions to the right of independent action in foreign affairs was pushed to an extreme, the implications of which were not then fully realized by the Canadian public. For example, Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, even as more recently modified, provides that Canada as a member of the League, undertakes to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of each and every other member of the League, whether it be France, or Italy, or Japan, or Bolivia, or Ecquador, or Guatemala, or Panama; and this rather formidable covenant is still binding upon our honour and good faith.

As members of the League of Nations the Dominions have undertaken duties and responsibility of far-reaching import and of bewildering complexity; and unfortunately no means have been contrived to procure the effective co-operation of the United Kingdom and of the several Dominions for securing, through the concerted action of their combined representation at Geneva, the conservation of their common interests. These very serious and grave responsibilities were undertaken by Canada as a member of the League of Nations with the formal approval of the Parliament of Canada, and each successive Government of Canada has acquiesced in Canada's assumption of such responsibilities by sending its members as delegates to the Assembly of the League, participating in all its conferences and discussions, and by one of the members of the present Government, with its approval, accepting the office of President of the Assembly, and by accepting, more recently, a place on the Council of the League. It may be that the separate membership of each Dominion in the League of Nations was not conceived of as an abandonment of the unity of the Empire, but later developments have certainly tended toward that end. Step by step, more and more, Canada has been exercising the attributes inherent in independent sovereignty.

TREATIES BETWEEN THE DOMINIONS AND FOREIGN STATES

The matter of the negotiation by the Dominion Governments of treaties with foreign states was considered by the Imperial Conference of 1923, and it was then agreed that the Government of each Dominion was at liberty, independently and separately, to negotiate treaties respecting any subject matter with any foreign state; and the Government of the Dominion, in conducting such independent negotiations, was left free to decide of itself whether the United Kingdom or any other Dominion was interested therein. In June, 1925, the Parliament of Canada prescribed by resolution that, before the Government of Canada should advise the ratification of any treaty, convention or agreement involving military or economic sanctions, the approval of the Parliament of Canada should first be obtained.

In the Imperial Conference of 1926 certain amending and restricting rules were adopted to provide that each Dominion, when negotiating a treaty, should first notify the Government of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the other Dominions of the purpose and scope of the proposed treaty; and that, upon receipt of such notification, each of the other Governments should express its dissent with reasonable promptness. If no dissent is expressed, then the negotiating government may proceed to the conclusion of any treaty that does not impose acive obligations upon any of the other Governments which are represented at the Imperial Conference; but if the proposed treaty would impose active obligations upon the United Kingdom or upon any of the Dominions, the assent of the Government of the United Kingdom or the Dominion so affected must first be obtained. Moreover, the Imperial Conference of 1926 no longer left the Government of each Dominion free to decide of itself whether its proposed treaty affected the interest of any other part of the Empire, but in express terms specifically provided that "any question as to whether the nature of a treaty is such that its ratification should be concurred in by all parts of the Empire, is a matter for discussion and agreement between the Governments." The Imperial Conference of 1926 also laid down the guiding principle that: In the case of a treaty "applying to only one part of the Empire it should be stated to be made by the King on behalf of that part;" and moreover declared that:

> "The plenipotentiaries for the various British units should have full powers issued in each case by the King on the advice of the government concerned, indicating and corresponding to the part of the Empire for which they are to sign."

APPOINTMENT OF DOMINION MINISTERS TO FOREIGN STATES

In 1924, two years after the creation of the Irish Free State, its government appointed an Irish Minister, to represent it at Washington. In 1926, the Canadian Government appointed a Canadian Minister at Washington, and in 1928 a Canadian Minister at Paris, to be followed by the appointment of a Canadian Minister at Tokio. The conditions under which these appointments are made are set forth in the letter of the British Ambassador at Washington to the Secretary of State of the United States, dated June 24th, 1924, the reply thereto dated June 28th, 1924, and the statement of Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons at Westminster on February 28th, 1927, which may be summarized as follows:

> 1. The Dominion Minister is accredited to the foreign state to deal with matters which exclusively relate to the Dominion which he represents; and he takes complete charge of affairs which relate only to such Dominion.
>
> 2. In matters falling within his sphere the Dominion Minister is not subject to the control of the British Ambassador, nor is the British Ambassador responsible for the Dominion Minister's action.
>
> 3. In case any question should arise as to whether any matter comes within the category of those to be handled by the Dominion Minister, it is to be settled by consultation between the British Ambassador and the Dominion **Minister.**
>
> 4. The Government of the foreign state accepts the Dominion Minister on this footing.

The Imperial Conference Committee of 1926 reported: "We felt that the most fruitful results could be anticipated from the co-operation of His Majesty's representatives in the United States of America already initiated and now further to be developed."

It is fervently to be hoped that this rather optimistic anticipation may be fully realized in a sphere in which such divergencies of opinion will undoubtedly arise as may only be overcome by cultivating a spirit of tolerance and self-restraint; and by the exercise, under all circumstances, of consummate tact and cordial good-will.

CONCERTED ACTION NECESSITATES CONTINUOUS CONSULTATION

The Imperial Conference of 1926 also endorsed the proposition for the appointment at Dominion Capitals of British Commissioners

> "to represent with authority the views of Mis Majesty's Government in Great Britain", [in view of] "the desirability of developing a system of personal contact both in London and in the Dominion Capitals, to supplement the present system of inter-communication and the reciprocal supply of information on affairs requiring joint consideration."

There has been, for many years, a constant development in the direction of more direct and extended consultation between Great Britain and the Dominions, in respect of all matters of common concern. In the days before the American Revolution, Edmund Burke, at London, for some time represented New York in dealings with the British Government. Pennsylvania, on more than one occasion, sent Benjamin Franklin to London as its political representative; and other of the American Colonies were, from time to time, represented there by their special delegates.

In 1880, Canada sent her first High Commissioner to London; and since then successive High Commissioners have given Canada a measure of representation at the British Capital, and provided an additional source of information to the British Government; though residence in London may sometimes preclude close association with domestic interests and domestic ideals.

In 1918, there was also established the procedure of direct communication between Prime Ministers of the British Government and the Prime Ministers of the respective Dominion Governments.

During the past year, 1928, a British Commissioner has been appointed to reside at the Capital of this Dominion, who will participate in negotiations between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of this Dominion.

We have now, therefore, a complicated machinery for ensuring concerted action between the British Government and the Canadian Government in respect of matters of common concern; the presence at London of a Canadian High Commissioner representing the Government of Canada, and the presence at Ottawa of a British Commissioner representing the Government of the United Kingdom; British Ambassadors at Washington, Paris and Tokio, representing the special interests of the United Kingdom and the general interests of the British Empire, and Canadian Ministers at the same foreign capitals representing the special interests of Canada; the recurrent quadrennial meetings of the Imperial Conerence; direct communications between Prime Ministers; occasional visits to London of Members of the Canadian Government; and the annual meetings of the League of Nations, at which five of the Dominion Governments are represented.

Some of us may be persuaded that we are proceeding too rapidly in thus providing too many points of contact which may possibly serve to engender dissentions; but, in progress of constitutional development there are few recessions. Those who desire the survival of the British Empire must constantly insist that this existing political machinery shall be employed to develop common political ideals, and to ensure the cordial co-operation of the Government of the United Kingdom and the governments of the several Dominions in carrying these common ideals into full effect. The official representatives of Canada are not our permanent masters; they must respond to the demands of enlightened public opinion. The British Empire will survive so long as the citizens of its constituent dominions, colonies and possessions are persuaded that their political well-being is best conserved by remaining within that Empire, and so long should the majority in each dominion strive intelligently and effectively to ensure its continuity.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT CHALLENGED

These constitutional changes which are now taking place, by dividing among and delegating to several domininon governments the authority to advise in respect of the exercise of the King's prerogatives, have so far left intact the legislative supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. That supremacy is now directly challenged.

The Imperial Parliament, which is the Parliament of the United Kingdom, has legislative jurisdiction co-extensive within the territorial limits of the Empire, over British citizens and British shipping wherever they may be in foreign parts or upon the high seas, outside British territorial waters.

The Imperial Parliament has exclusive jurisdiction to regulate the succession to the Throne, the titles of the Crown, the royal declarations on accession, and the Regency in certain cases, as shown by the Demise of the Crown Act 1901, the Regency Act of 1910, the Royal and Parliamentary Titles Act 1927, which concern the whole Empire.

The Imperial Parliament may amend, at will, its own constitution as shown, for example, by the Parliament Act of 1911.

The Imperial Parliament can lawfully extend or restrict the application to the Dominions of its own enactments, as shown, for example, in the Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865.

Uniform British naturalization throughout the Empire is provided for by such Imperial Statutes as the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts of 1914, 1918 and 1922; all of which indicate that the Parliament of the United Kingdom can alone decide who shall be deemed to be natural born British subjects, who may be admitted, by naturalization, to exercise the rights and privileges of such subjects. Dominion legislation, on the other hand, can confer no rights or privileges outside of the confines of the Dominion.

The Army Act and the Naval Discipline Act of the Imperial Parliament extend to the whole Empire. All Dominion forces, serving outside of the Dominions, are subject to the provisions of the Army Act, and the regulations issued thereunder.

The Foreign Enlistment Act 1870, extends to all the Dominions and regulates the conduct of all His Majesty's subjects during the existence of hostilities between foreign states with which His Majesty is at peace.

The Imperial Parliament provides for extradition of acused persons from one part of the Empire to another for trial, as, for instance, in the Fugitive Offenders Act 1881, which provides for the arrest in any Dominion of any person who is accused of the commission of an offense in any other of the Dominions.

The Admiralty Offences (Colonial) Act 1849, confers on Dominion or Colonial Courts the power to deal with crimes committed in the territorial waters of the dominion or colony.

The Territorial Waters Jurisdiction Act of 1878, makes provision with respect to offences committed by foreigners on foreign ships within the territorial waters of any dominion.

The Naval Prize Act 1864, and the Prize Court Act 1894, also provide for the constitution of Prize Courts in British Dominions, colonies and possessions.

The Slave Trade Act 1873, for the suppression of the slave trade, extends to the whole Empire, and confers jurisdiction upon the Vice-Admiralty Courts of the Dominions.

The Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act 1890, provides for the organization of the Admiralty Courts in the British Dominions and for the reservation for His Majesty's assent of Dominion laws relating thereto.

The Merchants Shipping Act, 1894, is an expression of the paramount legal right of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate with respect to the registration, equipment, safety, operation and management of British owned shipping, and for the constitution of Dominion

Courts to deal with offenses committed on any British ship anywhere, and on any foreign ships, to which the offender does not belong, and by any alien on a British ship while on the high seas; and this same Imperial Act confers jurisdiction upon the Admiralty Courts of the Dominions over offenses committed by any of the officers or crew of a British ship, whether ashore or afloat.

There are also Imperial acts dealing with special international relations of the Empire, such as the International Copyright Act 1886, the Mailship Act 1891, the Anglo-French Convention Act 1904, the Geneva Convention Act 1911, the more recent Treaty of Peace (Turkey) Act, all of which indicate the permanent legal legislative authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

These Imperial enactments, which clearly disclose that the paramount legislative supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is not only founded upon legal right, but that such supremacy is in accord with existing constitutional practice, are recognized and enforced by all Canadian Courts. But the Imperial Conference of 1926 has affirmed that:

> "They (Great Britain and the Dominions) are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations . . . . Every self-governing member of the Empire is now master of its destinies . . . Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root-principle governing our inter-imperial relations."

The Report continues: "Existing administrative, legislative and judicial forms are admittedly not wholly in accord with the position" as above described, and it therefore proposes that these forms should be examined with a view to adopting existing practice to the principle of equality above ennunciated. And it was thereupon resolved that expert committees should be set up to enquire into and report upon and make recommendations for the repeal, amendment and modification of existing Imperial Statutes, so as to give legal effect to the principle of equality which the conference committee had asserted. The British members of that committee of experts have, I understand, been provisionally appointed, and have entered upon this most important enquiry, the ramifications of which extend to the very roots of our political relations with Great Britain and with all other parts of the British Empire.

LIMITED JURISDICTION OF DOMINION PARLIAMENTS TO BE EXTENDED

And not only will the adaptation of existing practices to the principle of equal status involve the repeal, amendment and modification of that long series of Imperial enactments, such as I have cited, which now express the paramount legislative supremacy of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but other appropriate measures must be adopted by the Parliament of Canada to provide for the exercise of that wider legislative and administrative jurisdiction which it is proposed to vest in the Dominion parliaments and Dominion governments, in order to give the Parliament of Canada legal legislative jursdicton, co-equal if not co-extensive with that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. A brief comparison will indicate the far-reaching extent of the reforms which are now contemplated.

Though the Dominion of Canada may now be deemed, in a restricted sense, to be a nation, it is not a sovereign state.

The Canadian Parliament now has legislative jurisdiction to enact measures for the peace, order and good government of Canada limited to its own territory and within the three mile limit on its sea boards. It has no extra territorial jurisdiction.

The Canadian Parliament has now no legislative jurisdiction over Canadian citizens, when they are beyond the confines of Canada. It cannot make laws to punish Canadian citizens for crimes committed abroad. It cannot provide legislative safeguards respecting the conduct of its shipping and sailors, its naval or mercantile marine, while on the high seas.

This limited Canadian jurisdiction is now to be extended so as hereafter to be co-equal with that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, whose present legislative jurisdiction is not restricted to the territorial limits of Great Britain, but extends to the uttermost limits of a far-flung Empire, to British subjects wherever they are throughout the wide-world, to British shipping, including Dominion registered shipping, sailing the seven seas, to British property, assets and interests wherever located.

The Parliament of Canada cannot make a Canadian citizen a British subject throughout the British Dominions. It may not declare war; it cannot make peace; it may not, when Great Britain engages in war, declare the neutrality of Canada, except by asserting its political separation from Great Britain.

Under the existing conditions, the Parliament of Canada must continue to be a Parliament of Canada; it cannot legislate its own extinction, nor set up any other form of government, nor amend nor modify the existing right of accession to the Throne.

Canada cannot federate with any other state.

Canadian statutes are now void for repugnancy to the extent of such repugnancy, when they conflict with the provisions of any act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom which extends to Canada.

The mere repeal of the Colonial Laws Validity Act will not abrogate the legal legislative supremacy of the Parliament of Great Britain; but any future Imperial Act, expressed to extend to this Dominion, must still be regarded by our Dominion Courts as valid and as overriding acts of the Dominion Legislature, if any, which are not consistent therewith. What means are to be contrived and formulated whereby the Parliament of

Great Britain may effectively fetter its own future legislative action with respect to all or any portion of the Empire?

PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The ultimate solution of the problems, which the Imperial Conference proposes to solve by the investigation and report of its expert committees, will affect every phase of our political commercial and social life. Every man and woman, who is entitled to Canadian citizenship, whether by birth or naturalization, is interested in ascertaining what hereafter will be his rights, privileges, obligations and duties, when he passes beyond the frontiers of Canada. Every Canadian ship-owner is concerned to know what will be the status of his ship, its officers and crew, on the high seas or in British and foreign ports, when they are no longer subject to the Merchants Shipping Acts of the United Kingdom. Every Canadian merchant, engaged in the foreign trade of Canada, is directly interested in the ultimate preservation of the manifold rights and privileges which appertain to British subjects in their commercial intercourse with foreign countries, under the terms of existing treaties between the Government of the United Kingdom and the governments of foreign states. In fact, existing Imperial acts and treaties, applicable to Canada and to Canadians, at home or abroad, affect our material interests in innumerable ways. If these are to be wiped out, their abrogation will involve the immense constructive work, on the part of the Dominions, of devising a whole series of constitutional conventions and inter-imperial and international agreements and treaties which will clearly determine the relations of the Dominions among themselves, as well as with foreign countries, if the Empire shall hereafter remain a subsisting political entity and not merely a free association of independent sovereign states.

Some time ago Mr. Ramsey MacDonald said: "If the Empire is broken up, the fatal act will be done when nobody is aware that anything very revolutionary is taking place"; and my present purpose will be served if I bring home to your hearts and minds the vital significance of our existing status as British citizens, and the conviction that, under existing conditions, the political unity of the Empire will only be conserved to the extent that the Government of Canada is ready, with the utmost goodwill, to counsel, advise and co-operate with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the other five Dominions, in order to procure concerted action in all matters of common interest and concern. The problems of the Empire are not to be solved by the mere acceptance as orthodox of verbal declarations of constitutional rights; the maintenance of the political unity of the Empire will ultimately depend upon the spirit in which such rights are exercised by the Governments of the Dominions. For myself, I am fully convinced that any breach of our continuous community of political relations and of political ideals would not only make for serious domestic dissentions, and perhaps induce even civil strife in Canada, but would seriously diminish the growing influence of this country upon world affairs; for no Dominion is strong enough, even if it so desired, to afford the luxury of a completely independent political policy. (Applause.) But whatever our individual political predilections may be, it is certainly the paramount duty of each and every Canadian citizen to scrutinize carefully the constitutional devolopments which are now in progress, and to exert, each in his own sphere, however restricted it may be, all the intellectual, moral and political influence at his command, so that these constitutional developments may be directed toward the ends, which he conceives to be most consistent with the future well-being of our beloved country, Canada. (Loud applause.)

The President expressed the Club's appreciation of the wonderful address, which he said would make a very valuable contribution to the printed records of the Club, and be a great source of information to the students of the days to come. (Applause.)

CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN

AN ADDRESS BY SIR WILLIAM H. CLARK, K.C.S.I., C.M.G., HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GREAT BRITAIN IN CANADA

24th January, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS, in introducing the distinguished speaker, said:—It is a great privilege to have with us to-day as guest of honour and speaker of the day Sir William Clark, High Commissioner for Great Britain in Canada. I think it is peculiarly fitting that Sir William's first official visit to Toronto should be made for the purpose of addressing this Club. The motto of the Empire Club is "Canada and a United Empire". Sir William's presence and mission in this country I take to be a sign and token of the practical application of that motto. If ever a man's work was in the interest of a United Empire the work of Sir William Clark is. His function as High Commissioner is best described in his own words—"It is to provide a still more intimate channel of communication to assist in bringing about a still more efficient co-operation between His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, (which he has the honour to represent) and the Government of the Dominion, in all the many aspects of their mutual concerns."

Sir William Clark said: I have chosen an august topic on which to speak to you to-day, no less than the wide field of the mutual inter-relations of Canada and Great Britain. It is a theme which is peculiarly appropriate to the City of Toronto, that City which grew to greatness because your ancestors preferred exile to the loss of British citizenship; that city which has assiduously preserved among the struggles and controversies that have attended Canada's political development, the same eager loyalty to the British connection and the British Crown; which in its University and schools has maintained yet another link with the mother country through their cultural system that runs so closely parallel to our own; which honours the same sports as we honour at home, as I know very well after watching from the Leander lawn last July Joe Wright win his glorious victory in the Diamond Sculls—a victory all the more glorious for having been so unkindly deferred. It is a theme which is very appropriate too before members of the Empire Club which has set itself, as I understand its aims, to study and elucidate the diversified problems implied in the very existence of an immense aggregation of states such as the British Empire of to-day.

And there is another apology which I had better proffer to you in advance. Since I have been in your hospitable country I regret to say that, encouraged by the kindness which I meet on every hand, and oblivious of that modesty which is so becoming in a man and so essential in a civil servant, I generally end or begin, whatever my official theme, by talking about myself. But on this occasion I may plead perhaps that that is not wholly to be avoided, since my presence here is in its degree one of the outward and visible signs of where the relationship between Canada and Great Britain now stands; and I hope it will not be amiss if I take this opportunity to put before you, on this first occasion when I have been privileged to speak to a Toronto audience, something of what I believe this appointment means, something of how I hope it may be possible for it to help, in however modest a degree, in what all here, I am sure, have at heart, the steady, continuous strengthening of the ties which bind Canada and Great Britain together. (Applause.)

We in Great Britain are essentially a conservative race, not prone to change, inclined to let things carry on as they are unless there is a very evident reason for embarking on something new. But for that, I conceive, we might have followed somewhat sooner the example you set us fifty years ago when you first appointed a representative of Canada to Great Britain and created that post of High Commissioner in London which is now held by a distinguished citizen of your great city. It is a remarkable fact that Great Britain which for centuries has maintained an important service for the conduct of her business with foreign countries, has had no corresponding organization for the transaction of her affairs with her self-governing dominions, business no doubt different in some aspects, different certainly in the angle from which it is approached, but certainly no less considerable in importance and, of recent times, growing rapidly in bulk. But it has ever been our practice in all things to proceed gradually at first and tentatively, and so when self-government began the Governor-General remained charged with a dual duty—he was at one and the same time the representative of the King and the channel of communication between the Government in London and the Government in Ottawa. But inevitably as Canada has advanced in nation-hood, she has stood more and more on her own feet in each and every aspect of her affairs, more and more emphasis has been laid on the Governor-General's function as representative of the King. The greater that emphasis, the less appropriate it has become for him to be concerned also in the ever increasing detail of business between the governments, and especially, of course, in respect of matters where any element of controversy could arise. And so it has followed that, almost imperceptibly, the means by which the two governments may get into really intimate touch with one another, may know what is in one another's minds before projects ripen into policy or develop into action, have become less effective—less effective despite the continuous developments of the physical and mechanical means of inter-communication, less effective, although effectiveness has become increasingly necessary with the growth of the dominions as nations—as nations coming more and more, whether they wish it or not, not only as members of the British Empire, but on their own individual standing, into the wider circle of the world powers. Just one illustration of what I mean. Twenty years ago, while the commercial interests of foreign nations and foreign manufacturers and merchants were looked after throughout our Empire by their multitudinous consular officers, British traders had no official representative in the dominions to perform similar services for them, for it was hardly possible, of course, for the Governor-General to come down into the market place. That gap has now been filled by our trade commissioners, and it is worth mentioning that the first institution of the service was due to a suggestion at the Imperial Conference of 1907 by a Dominion Prime Minister who felt that in his Dominion the interests of British trade were being prejudiced for lack of such representation. And he was entirely right. I was at the Board of Trade, the British Ministry of Commerce, in those days, and saw something of the matter from the other end. In such things as tariffs, customs regulations and the thousand and one regulations and requirements which in all countries surround import trade, no single one perhaps of enormous moment in itself, but cumulatively important, our interests suffered, simply and solely because there was no means of bringing to the notice of the Dominion Government, except by the unsatisfactory procedure of the written despatch, obstacles which might be prejudicial to our commerce and which if matters could have been fully explained to them, they would very certainly have been ready to remove. Indeed the point hardly requires labouring. Toronto is a great commercial city, and there are doubtless many business men present to-day. They will, I conceive, endorse from their experience the simple doctrine that personal contact and the spoken word are worth a great deal more in the putting through of business than much writing of letters, and if this is true of business it is perhaps more true still of the relations of governments who have sometimes been accused in their correspondence of exercising caution, a commendable quality in itself, at the expense of that no less essential adjunct, clarity.

The immediate occasion no doubt for the creation of the High Commissionership in Canada arose out of the Imperial Conference of 1926, out of the conclusions promulgated by the assembled prime ministers regarding our relations one to another within the Empire; but it was also considerations such as those I have just mentioned, which influenced His Majesty's Government in sending me here to represent them in Canada and to bring them into closer touch with their colleagues of the Government in Ottawa. They felt that the time had fully come when a further channel of communication should be set up to facilitate the despatch of all the multifarious business between us, and especially to help in achieving the closest possible co-operation in the conduct of foreign affairs and other matters of high policy. I have only been some four months in Canada, and happily during that period no critical questions of imperial or international policy have arisen, but looking back I feel that the despatch of the current business between our two countries has been expedited, merely because of the opportunities now afforded for verbal discussion between the representatives of the two governments discussion which itself has been immensely facilitated by the generous reception accorded to myself and my officers by all ministers and officials with whom we have been brought into contact. (Hear, hear.)

If I have emphasized this aspect of the relations between Canada and Great Britain, I hope you will not think it is from a desire to magnify the importance of my post, or worse still of myself. I dwell upon it because this, the practical, working side of the recent constitutional developments is the side on which I can at least speak with some personal experience. Perhaps as a civil servant I am tempted to attach especial weight to the mere mechanics of government business, but I venture to think that there is something more in it than that—that when history sums up the oucome for our imperial structure of these ten pregnant years since the war, one of the factors that will emerge as not the least important will be the attention paid to the devising of machinery for giving a new, fuller, and more practical meaning to that hard-worked word co-operation. (Hear, hear.)

After all, what is the really essential issue? Putting aside for the moment all question as to the respective status of the several parts of the Empire, whether before or after 1926, whether before or after the war, whether now or in remoter years, has not the really essential issue always been for an Empire so diverse, so widely scattered as our own has been, to devise means that policy can be so built up and ordered as to preclude or reduce to a minimum the possibility of disagreement between any of our peoples on any question of capital importance, or on any series of questions leading up to such an issue? How is that possibility, so far as is humanly practicable, to be eliminated? The answer can only be—by removing, so far as may be, causes of discontent; by improving so far as may be means of communication, for there are few proverbs so wise as that which tells us that the absent are always in the wrong.

The last occasion of capital difference, culminated over 150 years ago in the declaration of American independence and was the beginning of the end of the first British Empire. It may well have seemed of evil omen to those who troubled themselves with such things that in that same year of 1776, when the Empire of England was threatened for the first time—and they could not know it would be the last—with disruption and decay, Mr. Gibbon should have issued the first volume of that august production, the "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire". But there were also planted in that same year the seeds of developments which between them have made us safe, as we ligitimately believe, from such a catastrophe in the future,—the beginnings alike on the political side and on the side of physical, material things of a newer and closer relationship, which made for the conditions I have just postulated. One of these also was a book, Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations", a book destined above all others for the English speaking world, to set in motion ideas which formed the prelude to the new libertarian age; the ideas which affected profoundly not only fiscal theory, but what was so intimately allied with it, colonial policy, which led up ultimately to the principle of self-government and with it, though it was scarcely to be foreseen at the time, a new path to unity between the peoples of the Empire. Nor was that all. That same year is also cited as the date when Boulton and Watt, the Birmingham engineers, produced their first steam engine on a commercial scale, a year on the very threshold of the age of steam, and all that steam has meant in cheap and efficient transport to an empire whose countries are scattered over the whole surface of the globe.

The continuous improvements in the physical means of communication speak for themselves, but it may seem something of a paradox to contend that the equally continuous evolution in the principle of autonomy should also have made for a closer union between our peoples. But, first, was there a point at which the process should or could, have stopped? Lord Durham would have stopped short of fiscal freedom, admittedly an impossible position to maintain. That point conceded, for a long time autonomy was strictly limited to matters of domestic concern. Then, in the years before the war, the prime ministers assembled at the Imperial Conference were admitted to the confidence of the British Government regarding foreign policy, the growing anxieties of the situation, and the urgent problems of imperial defence. Canada, meantime, had negotiated treaties of her own. Would it have been possible to have arrested the process at that point, to have taken no further steps forward despite the new position in relation to the world in which she found herself after the war? Would it have been possible to have arrested the process there? Would it, and this is the really crucial question, have been worth while to make the attempt; would there, indeed have been any adequate reason for making it?

I think the answer, as ministers say in the House of

Commons when invited to reply plainly "Yes" or "No", must be in the negative. The logic of the situation which had actually arisen, the position in which the Dominions found themselves at the end of the war, the ready recognition of that status by foreign countries, all seem to show that the tide had flowed irretrievably on.

Let us look at the other side. The full development of self-government has meant the elimination of points of friction which arise so easily when someone else handles your affairs for you. It is so easy to think that others have not taken as much trouble, that they have not dealt with them as carefully, as wisely, as you would have done yourself. I was profoundly embarrassed the other day at a dinner party when a lady, I hasten to add of English birth and most loyal to her native land, challenged me indignantly, over the soup, about something England had done or not done in connexion with events that took place many years ago. I will not be more specific, but I reached the fish with a deep sense of personal guilt and a no less profound regret that the statesmen of our Empire had not attained the conclusions of 1926 several decades earlier. But in all seriousness, it is no small gain that there will be no room now for such sentiments, now that Canada handles her own foreign affairs, but there will also be something more than that—there will be something positive and concrete gained. In foreign affairs Canada and Great Britain have each their special concerns, but they have also their common interests. Your chief pre-occupations are necessarily with the great Republic to the south of you and with the Empire across the Pacific Ocean. We in Great Britain, distinct from the European continent, thanks to the few miles of sea which divide us from its northern shores, are yet part of Europe, traditionally and of necessity concerned in its affairs. But Canada, too, having accepted her obligations under the Covenant of the League, having been accorded the high honour of a seat on its Council, is no party to a doctrine of isolation from European affairs and is no stranger to the problems of the European orbit. (Applause.) There is a real scope for partnership between us. We can each advise and help the other as regards each our special spheres, you from your special knowledge of the new world, and we from ours of the old; and, again, when we stand side by side in the great international gatherings of the times. For the British Empire, with all its peoples, to be represented on such occasions, by the envoys only of a single government, would be surely almost a contradiction in terms.

I suppose we could any of us, if we troubled to do so, suggest contingencies which might arise if this or that government of the Empire were to pursue a divergent policy; we could any of us, if we sat down to it, construct an edifice of alarming inferences on the basis of such hypotheses. I do not, myself, believe it is a very wise way of spending one's time, but if one does, what are the safeguards? Well, first and foremost, making for unity, above and beyond everything else there remains the supreme bond, common to all our nations, of loyalty to the King, the desire to serve the Crown, to avoid any action which might involve the Crown in any constitutional embarrassment. (Applause.) There is no need to stress how real, how fervent that loyalty is. It has been demonstrated, if any demonstration were needed, during the past unhappy weeks by the eager anxiety with which His Majesty's subjects all over the world have followed the daily bulletins of his long and courageous struggle with his illness. There is next this—that liberty and the sense of responsibility, as our constitutional history whether in Canada or in Great Britain has so often shown, go and grow hand in hand; and so with the greater liberty you will find, I believe that each government of the autonomous group recognizes increasingly the duty laid upon it to have regard in its policy to the interests of the other nations as well as of its own. And lastly, a humbler, more pedestrian affair, but still as I believe with an importance of its own, there is the factor on which I dwelt earlier in this address, the improvement in the machinery of inter-communication which these developments have induced—the new arrangements by which not merely are the decisions of our several governments reported to one another, but every endeavour is made through less formal channels to keep each other aware before decisions are taken of what each has in mind, of the policies each may severally contemplate. Success, as I see it, will be won through good will and good sense, qualities surely in an especial degree characteristic of our peoples—goodwill and good sense finding their scope not only at the periodic meeting of the Imperial Conference, but through this constant interchange of information, opinion and counsel.

So much for our political relationships, but there are other ties which can be no less effective, the ties of mutual economic interests, of mutual concern in trade, finance and migration, the exchange of goods, the exchange of capital, the distribution of our peoples. This is not unfamiliar ground to me who have, in the last ten years at the Department of Overseas Trade in London, had to learn something about the great commercial countries of the world. It has been very pleasant of late years to watch the figures of our trade with Canada moving once again in the right direction. It has been very pleasant, since I have been here, to see the manifest signs of Canadian prosperity as evidenced by all the many statistical measurements which you owe to the industry of the Dominion Statistician. It has been very pleasant in these last few weeks to hear at the annual meetings of your great banks, bankers, usually a cautious clan, singing together like the morning stars in a united paean of contentment and confidence and joy. (Laughter.) The latest figures show that we in Great Britain have our share in these good things, for our mutual trade is still on the upgrade. I see that in the twelve months ended last November Canada's exports to the United Kingdom increased by nearly forty million dollars over last year's and her imports from the United Kingdom increased by some ten million dollars. These increases are largely, of course, the results, directly or indirectly, of your splendid harvests, of the advances that you have been making in manufacture, and of your larger purchasing capacity, but we can also, I think, as we contemplate these figures, congratulate ourselves, British and Canadians alike, on what is being achieved by the movement on both sides of the Atlantic in favour of the purchase, wherever possible, of Empire goods—the movement stimulated at home by the work of the Empire Marketing Board, and in Canada by the Shopping Week campaign of last year with which Toronto had so much to do and which I am glad to see is to be repeated this year. (Applause.) Your steadily growing import trade, of course, still affords British manufacturers plenty of worlds to conquer, plenty of opportunities to pursue which are now going elsewhere. They are going after them, I am glad to say, with an ever increasing appreciation of their importance, and they have your goodwill, I am no less sure, on their side.

There is much more one might say on this topic but I must abstain, as there is one other to which I wish to refer before I have done. That is the question of immigration, a question which is intimately associated with one of the closest ties that there can be between two countries, the tie of race. The point I wish to make is simply this—that just as Canada is entering on a new and important phase of her political history, so there is good ground for the belief that she is entering on a new and no less important phase of her economic development, a phase in which we may reasonably expect to see a very definite forward movement in the growth of her population based on an increased flow of immigration duly assimilated and retained within her borders. And if I am right about that, I think you will wish that, within the limits of the reasonably possible, these immigrants should be British. (Hear, hear, and applause.) And, again, I am bold enough to suggest that circumstances combine to make this juncture one of a singular aptness because, the trend of conditions in our islands is such that men and women of British race are freely available now, but may not be so freely available before many years have gone by. In fact, to my mind, the indications all point in the direction summed up in that admirable maxim, "Do it now".

There is much misapprehension now-a-days about the term "over-population" or "under-population", which are so freely bandied about in these discussions. People talk about Great Britain as being densely over-populated and attribute to this supposed excess of her people the unhappy numbers of her unemployed. They point to the fact—a startling fact, no doubt—that England and Wales carry some 650 persons to every square mile of their relatively restricted territories. But the truth is that these geographical considerations have very little to do with the issue. One of the most flourishing nations in Europe, a country which alone among the countries of the world has, I believe, no taxation, flourishing, it is true, for fantastic reasons, with its prosperity based on a fantastic industry, that same country is also perhaps the most densely populated in the western world, with nearly 2,000 people to the square mile—I mean the Principality of Monaco. (Laughter.) Yet were the pastimes of Monte Carlo to lose their attraction for mankind, a contingency, I opine, in the highest degree remote, Monaco, no longer prosperous, her one industry reft from her, her people deprived of their one employment, would become at a stroke over-populated. So, to take a more serious example, was it with Vienna before and after the war, before the war the natural focus-point of a great empire, in which were concentrated the governmental machinery of its huge area and the ultimate control of its commerce, industries, transport and finance; after the war, a head manifectly too large for the shrunken body of the new republic. So would it be with Great Britain were the conditions of to-day to persist, a possibility in which we are none of us, I hope, so faithless as to believe. Great Britain has been through all this before. A century ago her population was about a third of what it is to-day and yet to the gloomy eye of Mr. Malthus even that modest figure seemed excessive for her resources; yet within a hundred years, stimulated by the prosperity of the Victorian age, her people had trebled, and so far from suffering in consequence, the average standard of living was far higher than at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

Now once again, the old doubt has revived. Our economic structure is such that through our staple industries we have suffered more acutely perhaps than any other nation from the changes brought about by the war, and we have to face a far longer period of readjustment than was at first supposed; but I do not think anyone seriously doubts that the readjustment will be secured, and with it our present surplus of unemployed will be re-absorbed. And meantime, there has been another factor at work, the extent of which is often not fully appreciated. The birth rate of our population has been falling in a measure masked only by the even steeper decline in the rate of death. But to the latter process, even after all allowance has been made for the progress of medical science and sanitation, there must be a definite limit; and the best authorities believe that an increase of another three or four millions in our people may bring us to the point at which our numbers will be getting near stagnation. We have admittedly a surplus now, but no one can say for how long it will continue.

Let us turn to Canada. Just as Great Britain is accused of over-population, so it is often stated that Canada is under-populated, because her people average only about two and a half persons per square mile of her territories, the mileage including, I suppose, for greater effectiveness, the superficial area of her immense lakes and multitudinous rivers, her still virgin forests, and the grim regions of her remotest north. (Laughter.) I attach but little importance to such figures; but it may, I suppose, be admitted that in past years, while she has received her fair share of immigrants, she has not always found it easy to retain her people as against the drawing power of the great prosperity across her borders to the south. But what of Canada's present position—the steady growth of her cultivated area; her ever-developing industries; the rapid progress made with the opening up of her mineral resources; the recent figures of her trade; the increase year by year, and in some respects this is the most significant item of all, in the volume of hydro-electric power which her stations produce. There is the evidence too of her employment index showing year by year a rising demand for labour, and in these last months a marked diminution in the usual seasonal decline as winter comes on. Or again, there is the record of Canadian citizens returning from across the border to settle once again in their native land. Who can doubt that Canada's absorptive capacity stands on a quite different footing to anything that has been attained before in her history, a footing infinitely securer, I imagine, than in that period of somewhat hectic prosperity in the ten years before the war? I cannot sum up the case better than as it was put by your fellow-citizen, Sir John Aird, the other day at the meeting of one of your great banks:—

> "If but a tithe of the expansion which looms ahead of this country takes place," he said, "we shall be able to find employment for, and offer a career to, many thousands of settlers of all kinds." And again, "Indeed of taking away the employment of those now in the country, the new-comers will create new trade and new employment for the purpose of filling their needs, and will thus contribute substantially to the further development of the country."

That is precisely what I believe, but it comes with infinitely greater authority from him. (Applause.)

The stage then is set, and so you know the two Governments and the shipping companies have been working together to make the movement of our people easier, the special facilities for boys have been extended to include lads up to 19—young, vigorous, in no way affected by unemployment or set in their ways. So far as agriculture is concerned, the British Government through their training camps are helping men who have followed other vocations all their lives to turn over to farm labour. I visited one of those camps last summer with your Prime Minister, and I think he will agree that the men were being put through pretty searching tests to try out their adaptability to farm-work, and were being taught some, at any rate, of the rudiments, of the way you do things in Canada. I will only make this appeal to you and to Canadians in every part of the Dominion—that you will give, as I am sure you will, a helping and a welcoming hand to those who may now be able to come and share with you in your splendid heritage. (Loud applause.)

I have not yet thanked you, gentlemen, as I should have done for your kindness in receiving me here to-day. Yet it is indeed of good omen for my work in Canada; for that work, I am very sure, cannot be done only in the capital city; it means taking every opportunity of meeting those who are building up Canada and Canada's prosperity in that long chain of provinces and communities which is strung out, in the proud words of your national motto, "from sea to sea". The Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, British Columbia, so diverse in their origins, so different necessarily in their pursuits and interests, they are held together in the last resort not so much by the adamantine sanctions of the law as by the silken thread of loyalty to the Canadian name. (Hear, hear.) So it is with the British Empire. We do not ignore the importance of historic precedents and constitutional statutes, but what will matter most as the years go by will be the spirit which lies behind, the determination, based on loyalty to the Crown, to see that the freedom of each detracts nothing from the unity of the whole. If, as between Canada and Great Britain, I am able to help at all, in however modest a degree, in so great a cause, I shall indeed feel that my years in your great Dominion will not have been spent in vain. (Loud and continued applause.)

SIR THOMAS WHITE conveyed the thanks of the Club to the speaker.

CANADA TURNING THE CORNER

An Address by C. V. CORLESS, M.Sc., L.L.D.

31st January, 1929

President Eayrs introduced the speaker who said: Canada is passing through an important transition period in her economic development. This fact perhaps accounts for the present hesitation, the feeling of bewilderment, in framing some of her national policies. For half a century or more her watchword has been, "Go West". Guided by this, a ribbon of people, with a break here and there, has stretched across the country along the southern boundary; they have consolidated their position; they have prospered exceedingly. And now, after a pause and hesitation as if they were taking stock before entering into another great enterprise, with the urge of gathering financial strength, with the restlessness of pent-up economic energy, Canadians are gradually reorienting themselves and are becoming conscious that their watchword in future must be, "Go North". (Applause.) Just as the earlier flow of people required time to get fully under way, to gather momentum before it reached flood tide, so it is natural to expect the pause, the hesitation, the apparent bewilderment, which have succeeded the westward sweep, while the new orientation is occurring, while momentum is gathering a northward flood.

The movement northward has marked advantages over the movement westward. It presents several points of attack in place of one. Each of these attacks can be made with full strength and energy, because it will not need to advance so far from its base. The general advance northward, in order to take effective possession of vast territory and resources, need proceed only a few hundred miles in place of a few thousand. This new advance is in fact the great conquest for which the preliminary line westward was thrown out and entrenched.

In this northward conquest, Ontario and Quebec have taken the lead and are greatly assisted in their first northward step by the transcontinental railways. Manitoba and Saskatchewan have recently become enthusiastic. The former will be greatly assisted in the movement, and the latter to some extent, by the Hudson Bay Railway. Alberta and British Columbia are already rapidly advancing northward; and both will be greatly benefitted by promised transportation for the Peace River District. With that district developed, the Pacific Great Eastern Railway may in time acquire a new significance.

Further, the westward movement was chiefly national—largely an enterprise backed and financed by the Dominion Government. The northern is chiefly provincial. Each of the six larger provinces has quite recently become much impressed with the potentialities of its hinterland and is beginning to push development northward, with vigor. For this function of government the provinces are much better fitted than the Dominion. Moreover, six governments, working on problems in which they have intense local interest, will be able to put much more energy into their solution than the more distant Dominion Government, with its many political distractions. For this reason, we may expect a very rapid advance in our northern development, now that the movement is well begun.

Herein, I believe, lies the real solution of our much-discussed problem of increase of population. It is only as we develop the provinces that more people can find employment, whether in our basic idustries, in our secondary industries, or in the many occupations incidental to these . It is for the provinces to develop their resources and create a demand for people; and it is for the Dominion to co-operate in supplying them. Much of the current discussion of this question, by placing the emphasis on increase of population instead of economic development, puts the cart before the horse. (Hear,

hear.) Conditions have greatly changed since the almost spontaneous early settlement of the southern parts of the three so-called prairie provinces. Each of these provinces will in future know best how many, and what kind of people it can take care of, and how rapidly it can receive them, in working out its own development. This method of procedure will reduce to a minimum the talk and differences of opinion, which at present seem to be generating more heat than light. (Applause.) But since the problem is national as well as provincial, let the Dominion Government lend every assistance in its power, financially and otherwise, to the provinces, in their efforts to increase their population as a result of the industrial development.

As migration in the world of animals is chiefly dependent on food supply, so flow of population results from and follows economic development. If the flow of our people has been too much southward, the direction of flow can be reversed only by economic development northward. (Applause.) It is useless to worry, to waste words and energy in fault-finding, or to try to dam the stream. We must open new industrial channels northward. The flow of people northward will result naturally. If we wish a given effect, we must set in motion a proper and adequate cause.

The present enthusiasm for northern development is economically and patriotically soundly based. It is orienting us in the right direction—away from our great, prosperous and friendly neighbour, and toward our own national opportunities. As it proceeds, it will make us less imitative, more independent, more vigorous, more self-reliant. It will cause us to really take possession of our unique heritage, to develop our country for what it is, to add our own peculiar contribution to the world's material, mental and moral resources. It will make us a nation in the full meaning of the word. (Applause.)

As long as we remain a ribbon of population, settled close to our southern frontier, developing chiefly areas similar in climate and natural resources to contiguous areas belonging to the great neighbour south of us, we must expect increasing assimilation to the neighbouring people. Like causes and conditions produce like results. But if we resolutely face northward, as we are now beginning to do, our climate, our physiographical conditions, and our resources will grow more and more differentiated as we advance. Our outlook will change. Our economic problems will become more peculiarly our own. These physical and economic conditions will react on our developing nation, in part by natural selection, and we shall gradually develop national characteristics, national individuality, true nationhood. Civilization will be enriched by the material, mental and spiritual contributions of a highly individualized, a really worth while, people. For this ideal, neither great population nor vast wealth is necessary. Some of the greatest contributions to civilized progress in history have been made by relatively small peoples of quite limited wealth. Yet, our great territory is so splendidly endowed by Nature that we may well hope to prosper in numbers and wealth, while striving after the higher ideal. (Applause.)

Let us briefly recall a few of the contrasts between conditions northward and southward from the international boundary:

(1) *Climate*: The differences in temperature and moisture, as we proceed northward or southward, whether in the east, middle, or west, are very striking, but are too well known to need repetition. Making every allowance for the rigorous winter temperature of some of our northland, we may well remember a few of its advantages: The summer climate is so delightful that this northern territory is fast becoming the recreation ground of the continent; the autumn brings the hunter; and even winter brings its quota of lovers of sport. We have no desert spot due to lack of moisture. We are beyond the sweep of the violent tornadoes of some of the central states to the south. We do not suffer from the hurricanes which occasionally devastate the south eastern

states leaving a path of death and ruin behind. And our climate will greatly simplify our racial problem.

2) *Physiography*: The most striking physical feature of Canada is the pre-Cambrian Shield, now familiar to every well-informed citizen. This geologically ancient but recently glaciated, area, dotted with countless lakes and muskegs large and small, and threaded with irregular watercourses with abundant potential and developed waterpowers, occupies well over half of the entire country, or about ninety percent of the entire area north of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes, and east of Lakes Winnipeg, Great Slave and Great Bear. West of the Shield, and wedged between it and the Rocky Mountain Plateau, is most of Canada's part of the central continental plain, which, though much narrower at the international boundary than in the United States, and rapidly tapering to the northward, is of vast economic importance. West of the central plain is the Rocky Mountain Plateau. The smaller area south-eastward from the St. Lawrence, including the Maritime Provinces, is chiefly the extension into Canada of the Allegheny Plateau, which though rugged in Gaspé Peninsula, is generally of low elevation in the Maritimes. These four great natural divisions of Canada comprise our entire mainland area except: (1) a small though highly developed northerly extension of the central continental plain into Southern Ontario and Quebec, which extension was long practically synonymous with Canada; and (2) a low-lying flat area in Northern Ontario and Manitoba of about 100,000 square miles extent, gently sloping toward, and forming a continuation of the floor of, Hudson and James Bays.

A proper realization of the extent and characteristics of these physiographical features, which every Canadian schoolboy should have vividly implanted in his mind, —(Hear, hear.)—will make it clear that over most of Canada, as we proceed northward from the international boundary, the difference is even more marked than the contrast in climate. The pre-Cambrian area of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba, with its recently glaciated surface, affects the physiographic and geologic characteristics of these provinces so profoundly that their southern agricultural areas, which until recently received almost exclusive attention, can be regarded as little more than a base of supplies to be used in developing the northern parts of these provinces. Even Saskatchewan is roughly forty percent. pre-Cambrian; nor is there any good reason why both Saskatchewan and Manitoba should stop at the 60th parallel in the development of their northern areas. The contrast in physiography, as we go northward, is less marked in Alberta and British Columbia.

(3) *Resources*: A vivid realization of the characteristics of Canada as a whole, in respect of climate, physiography and geology, and of the effects of these on natural resources, will leave no doubt that the conception that prevailed until quite recently, viz., that "Canada is preeminently an agricultural country", needed serious modification. True, we have just harvested nearly half a billion bushels of wheat. True, we can perhaps finally bring under successful cultivation three times the present cultivated area, or say a total equal to about one-third of the cultivated area of the United States. True, also, our area suitable for cultivation should perhaps comfortably accommodate a rural population of about fifteen millions. But even these figures, extremely important as they are, take account of rather less than fifteen percent. of Canada's whole area. Or if for the present, chiefly because of climate, we decide to leave out of consideration the parts of our country not yet organized into provinces, there will still remain in the organized provinces a non-agricultural area of more than three times the total area suitable for cultivation. It is no longer necessary, as it was a few years ago, to try to convince people of the mineral wealth of this great northern area. The forests over much of it, the minerals, and the waterpowers enhancing the value of both, offset its agricultural limitations. Our industrial development will benefit by the variety and balance due to these varied resources. Nothing

could contribute more to the welfare and success of the farmer than to have a home market created for him by the development of other natural resources. And nothing is of greater assistance to the development of mineral and timber resources, and to the creation of secondary industries, with the flourishing towns to which all of these give rise, than an abundant and varied supply of agricultural produce near at hand. All these industries will necessitate efficient means of communication and transportation, in other words, good roads, railway extensions, telephone and mail service, as well as banks, schools, and the many other conveniences and amenities of civilized life. In the provision and operation of these will be found ample occupation for both manual and mental workers. (Applause.)

Such in brief outline is a glimpse of our northern conditions, and of a sound and natural growth of population under these conditions. How are our government organizations assisting this development? Scientific exploration and surveys; supply of information, general oversight, guidance and encouragement; helpful legislation and sympathetic administration; prompt building and efficient maintenance of good roads, and in some instances of railway branches, as fast as justified—such are the kinds of assistance our provincial governments are becoming well organized and equipped to supply. Regulation of, and assistance in, transportation and communication; carefully studied tariff regulation; co-operation with provincial governments in financing roads and other development of new territory, and in supplying the right kind of people; such interprovincial matters as solving the problem of supplying our central area with coal from the east and west; assistance in exploration and in scientific investigations connected with industry—these are a few of the most effective kinds of service the Dominion Government is rendering and can render toward our northern development and increasing our population as a result. Our great railway organizations, the British Government, and other institutions and bodies interested in the problem, can co-operate most effectively with the Dominion Government, if all see clearly the great importance of working closely with the provincial governments, in solving the difficult problems arising from development of our northern areas, and increasing our population. But the solution of the problem of growth of population, which most Canadians now recognize as supremely important, must begin with economic development, if it is to be sound and lasting and is not to end in heavy losses of people or in winter bread-lines in our large cities.

Before the three so-called prairie provinces were formed, and enlarged to their present size, and so long as our primary development meant solely or chiefly the building of railways and settling of farming lands near them, the future complexity of the problem as we have it to-day, was not generally foreseen. New people were brought in, took up land, and looked after themselves. Economic development and increase of population seemed to be practically synoymous. But a chain of large provinces has been formed, extending from coast to coast. Their natural resources are, or soon will be, administered by the several provincial governments. Each province is developing an efficient government organization, enthusiastically interested in the development of its own resources. As development proceeds northward, the problem is no longer solely, or perhaps even chiefly, the settlement of new lands, though great areas of unsettled lands still remain. Our northern areas demand a more varied and balanced development. The problem of development, from which will naturally result increase of population, has become much more complex, and will in future become even more so. Moreover, it has become a problem to be solved jointly by the provincial governments and the Dominion Government working hand in hand; the provincial governments working out the details, and the Dominion Government standing aside on these matters but assisting and co-operating in more general ways, some of which have been indicated.

The first essential to success in working toward a solution of any great and highly complex problem is to visualize, as nearly as possible, its scope and outlines. It will simplify this problem, if for the present we confine our attention, as we have been doing, to the part of Canada already organized into provinces, that is, the part south of the 60th parallel of latitude, comprising a total area of nearly three-fourths of the area of the United States. Nearly one-third of this entire area is still densely forested, all of the provinces except Prince Edward Island sharing in this resource, even the three prairie provinces having timbered areas of importance. This part of Canada also includes practically all the area suitable in surface, soil and climate for cultivation. The development of the area as a whole has proceeded far enough to convince Canadians that it contains untold wealth in minerals, ranging from coal, oil, salt and valuable clays, to silver, gold and platinum. And the young topography of the area, due chiefly to recent glaciation, Nature not yet having had time to reduce stream-courses to easy gradients, has ensured abundant potential water-power nearly everywhere. Where waterpower is least abundant, coal in vast quantities is near at hand. Moreover, the southern part of each of the six largest provinces is already well settled by a vigorous, wealthy and prosperous population, most of whom have hitherto been so absorbed in their own pioneering problems that they are just beginning to turn their attention to the great series of problems and opportunities in the northward development of their several provinces. Further, these southern communities are already connected east and west by two highly efficient transportation systems. Such, in broadest outline, are the general conditions of the problem.

But we have obtained in each province little more than a strong foothold. The problem now is for each of the provinces to expand this southern development. to push it northward, on the basis of a thorough examination and study of its own resources. Increase of population will result from, and be incidental to, this economic development. Any increase that does not come in this way, any short-sighted bringing in of people merely to increase our numbers, but without fitting them into our economic development, will be detrimental both to the country and to the people themselves. (Applause.) This touches the very heart of the problem.

We *are* eager to see more people come into Canada. We *do* appreciate most keenly the urgent need, and the great advantages, both to our country and to the incoming people themselves, of bringing in, not a mere dribble of people, but large numbers annually for many years to come. But wishing a result will not bring it about. We must set in motion an adequate cause or adequate causes. This is the only intelligent course to pursue in trying to solve any problem. No matter how great our eagerness to attain a given result, we shall most quickly succeed by this means.

Now, the adequate cause, the underlying condition of success, in the solution of the problem of increase of population is, I believe, unmistakably economic development, which, in the case of each of the six larger provinces, is at present chiefly, though by no means exclusively, development of its northern resources. The present hesitation and bewilderment I believe to arise largely from failure to realize this with such clearness and certainty as would cause all thinking citizens to concentrate and co-operate cordiaally and intensely on this method of solution. Once the truth is widely and clearly perceived, that we cannot successfully increase our population *directly*, but that we can succeed by concentrating our efforts on this underlying condition, the present hesitation and distraction will be replaced by orderly thinking and co-operation, in the only direction in which success can be attained. As in the case of pursuit of happiness, we can best succeed by indirect means.

If we consider that the smallest of the six provinces we are chiefly considering has about four and a half times, and the largest about twelve times, the area of England, a glimpse of the great magnitude of the problem of development for each of the six provinces will be obtained. But if the small population of Canada nearly half a century ago had the courage, the initiative, and the energy—even with the limited knowledge of the country and the limited scientific development then at their disposal—to push railways boldly more than two thousand miles westward, establish settlements, build towns and cities, and lay the economic foundation on which a group of great western provinces has been established, surely we can now successfully attack the problem of pushing this development northward a few hundred miles in each province! (Applause.)

But we seem to be bewildered by the problem of lesser distances. This may be because we have not clearly realized that the government machinery which so successfully accomplished the greater but simpler task is not well adapted to the lesser but more complex undertaking. The problem of western expansion could be undertaken only by the Dominion Government. Do we realize, as clearly as we should, that the problem of northern development, now that we have a chain of provinces stretching from Gaspe to Vancouver, has become a provincial matter? And is it clearly realized that since increase of population, if it is to be really a success, must result from, and be incidental to, this economic development, the initiative in this matter has passed from the Dominion to the provincial governments?

The present semi-paralysis will probably continue until the three prairie provinces have obtained complete control of their natural resources, and until the change-over of the initiative for increase of population from the Dominion to the provincial governments is more generally and more clearly realized. But how much more successfully and rapidly this important problem can be solved by many provincial governments, well adapted to, closely in touch with, and deeply interested in, their local conditions, than by a single government, which must necessarily be responsible for all national questions, including the national aspects of this problem! Yet, for the greatest success, there should be the closest and most sympathetic co-operation between the Dominion Government and the Provincial Governments. The Dominion Government can and should consult with, guide, and assist, the provinces. But in this most important matter, though national in its broadest aspects, the greatest, most rapid and most permanent success will be achieved by working with and through the provincial governments.

In working toward the solution of a problem, so vastly important, so highly and increasingly complex and so far-reaching in its many details, as this problem of increasing our population, of developing Canada into a greater nation, really is—there is no room for petty jealousy; for carping fault-finding and destructive criticism; for narrow views, shallow-mindedness and haste; for obstructive tactics, merely for personal or group advantage; or for vague thinking, which leads to muddled organixation. But there is room for, and great need of, whole-hearted, sincere and patriotic co-operation; of constructive suggestion and helpful, sympathetic criticism; of broad, deep and long-continued consideration of its innumerable details; of making haste carefully and with deliberation; of far-sighted, clear thinking, which leads to cleancut, effective organization.

Fortunately, the provincial governments are becoming well organized, and the people in the provinces are already becoming enthusiastic, for this very thing, this economic development northward. In at least two of the provinces a long start has already been made and the marked success already attained has acted as a powerful stimulus to the others. In these two provinces, highly efficient government organizations for northern development already exist, and merely need expansion as the work of development progresses. In the remaining provinces the organization for this purpose is already begun and their task is made much easier by a study of the methods followed, and results obtained, in the other two, in some instances even by taking over experienced men. This is a kind of inter-provincial cordiality and co-operation to be highly commended. It is founded on true patriotism. For, our recognition of provincial government organizations as the most effective means for securing rapid economic development of Canada in future, and our local enthusiasm, must never be allowed to degenerate into provincial narrowness.

Development of the country by concentration of effort through the provincial organizations has become advisable, because otherwise the problem is so large that our attacks become too general and diffuse to be effective; also because, in an attack of this kind, local enthusiasm and healthy rivalry count for much. On the western front in the Great War, the allies organized several armies, because in this way they could concentrate their blows more effectively. Without pushing the analogy too far, it may easily be seen that our northern advance will be most rapid and successful, if our Dominion Government recognizes clearly that, while reserving to itself general guidance, direction and supervision, all available energy and assistance, financial or other, can be applied most effectively through the provincial units. If the economic development of the provinces is rapid and sound, the Dominion Government will have no further reason to worry over our slow increase of population, or loss of people southward. Increase of strength or preservation of health in the individual results naturally from following certain fundamental conditions. Health and strength do not arise from either wish or worry. Just so, our national growth will result quite naturally, if we cease to worry about increasing our strength in numbers, and concentrate our attention, even more effectively than we are doing at present, on rapid and thorough economic development of our resources. (Applause.) As already indicated, I believe the provinces are now building up, or beginning to build up, effective organizations for this purpose. Probably Ontario and British

Columbia have made the greatest progress. The close co-operation between the forestry, land and mining departments on the one hand, and the operator, settler and prospector on the other, in these two provinces, in the supply of information and maps, giving of expert advice and assistance, building of roads when shown to be warranted, and in many other ways, may well be closely studied by the other provinces. The western provinces have been seriously handicapped by not having the same complete control of their natural resources as the other provinces. I know little, and care even less, about the political issues involved. But it must be true that the sooner this handicap, with its dual authority and responsibility, is removed—a condition which lessens energy and driving force in any organization—the more effectively will these governments settle down to their great task of development of their northern areas. These provinces have Canada's greatest agricultural, coal and oil resources, which occupy such a key position in modern industry that the future importance of this group of provinces can hardly be over-estimated.

In referring, however briefly, to our provincial organization for economic development, we should not omit to mention the provincial universities and their affiliated colleges. Each province has one or more of these, and each of the universities has an efficient applied science faculty, which furnishes an opportunity for training promising young men either to become industrial leaders or to fill the increasing number of positions in the government organization. The importance of this thorough preparation of young men to fill these positions is not as generally appreciated as it should be. Moreover, many members of the staffs of these universities, frequently assisted by their students, enter the government service during the long vacation, carrying on field work of inestimable value, and giving their sessional teaching an effectiveness and weight not otherwise obtainable. Added to these services, important researches, often of great value, are carried out in the university laboratories.

In addition to these investigations, the Ontario Government has recently taken the initial steps toward founding a research institution which, backed as it is by the larger industries of the province, must in time greatly assist the economic development of the province. No doubt the other provinces will closely study the organization and success of this innovation and will, as they feel warranted in doing so, work out similar organizations adapted to their provincial needs. The Dominion institution for research, now being founded, together with extensive work of research already carried on under various departments of the government at Ottawa, may for some time meet this need for those provinces with smaller population and less developed wealth.

This brief outline will suffice to make it clear that, in general, the provinces are proceeding along the right lines. The organizations they are creating are becoming, and will become more and more, highly effective. To secure driving power and efficiency, there is no sounder principal to apply, than local provincial authority and responsibility. The more clearly this principle is realized and applied, the more rapidly and successfully will the economic development of Canada be extended northward. Such development is the fundamental condition of growth of population. The two are inseparable. If the Dominion Government guides, assists and supports the provinces to the utmost in this development, it will have taken the most effective possible steps toward the solution of the problem of increasing our population, which at present seems to be a source of worry, cross-purposes and bewilderment. The provinces do not wish people thrust into them. But, as their development proceeds, they will become urgent in their demand for more people.

When we think of this problem primarily from the standpoint of bringing in and assimilating people, we are reversing the natural sequence; we are mentally placing the effect before the cause; in the language of the street, we are making the cart pull the horse. This method, if followed, causes confusion and ends in loss of population. If, however, we reverse our method, and think primarily of economic development of our resources, of extension of our existing industries and creation of new industries, we are placing the cause of inflow of people first, where it should be. The inflow will follow naturally.

If I have said nothing about the need of capital, it is because this need is everywhere implied. Industry creates new capital which is available for further extension of industry. Among Canadians the feelings of confidence in their resources has in recent years become so great, and our industries have got into such a sound position, that capital to any reasonable amount can at present be obtained for any enterprise that has a reasonable promise of success. (Hear, hear.)

Simple as these principles are, they are of such fundamental importance that, even at the risk of wearying you, I am tempted to pause and summarize: Sound growth of population must rest on and result from expansion of old, and development of new, industries. Many, if not most, of our resources to the northward of the older settled areas are as yet wholly undeveloped, and even to a large extent unexplored. Hence, future progress will consist not only in fuller development of areas already occupied near the international boundary but also, and chiefly, in utilizing the resources of our more northerly areas.

Since the entire area of Canada south of the 60th parallel is now organized into provinces, this development will proceed most rapidly and efficiently under the provincial governments, backed and assisted as far as possible by the Dominion Government. The initiative in growth of population, therefore, has now largely passed from the Federal Government, and rests mainly with the provinces. Hence, though the government at Ottawa is, and must remain, responsible for the regulation and control of in-coming people, it is by the closest co-operation with the provincial governments in the development of provincial resources that increase of a prosperous and contented population will be most effectively brought about.

Careful study and co-ordination of organizations and efforts, as between the Federal and Provincial Governments, is very necessary in order to avoid over-lapping, dual responsibility, misunderstanding and loss of driving force, and to secure the highest possible results from the co-ordinated efforts. Most valuable assistance is being, and can be, rendered by our great railway organizations, by the British Government, as well as by various other bodies deeply interested in the problem of expansion of industry and population in Canada; but this assistance will become most effective, if there is, on the part of all concerned, a clear recognition of the importance of co-operation with the provincial governments.

In any great enterprise—and what undertaking could be greater than the up-building of a nation worthy to occupy a territory nearly as large as Europe?—nothing hinders so much as confused organization, and nothing adds effectiveness, drive and cordial co-operation like clear-cut understanding and recognition of the responsibilities of each unit or individual. Are we not mistaken in placing almost the sole responsibility for increase of population, as we have been doing, on the Dominion Government? The mistake, probably unintentional, may offer a fine field for the endless talk and recriminations of politicians. But can we afford to play politics with so important a matter as our national growth and prosperity?

This brief study of the urgent problem of increasing our population is offered in the hope that it may be of some assistance, however small, in clearing away the confusion and hesitation, the existence of which seems to be indicated by current discussions in the press. If, as I have indicated, we are already proceeding along broadly sound lines, clear recognition of this fact will be most helpful. Nothing is more calculated to increase the driving power, which alone can ensure rapid progress in carrying out a great and difficult enterprise, than complete confidence in the organization undertaking it, and the methods pursued. But I am inclined to the view that much good would result from a clear recognition, on the part of all thinking citizens, including all our representatives at Ottawa, of the supremely important place the provinces must come more and more to fill, now that we have definitely turned the corner, and are facing northward rather than westward. A wider and clearer recognition of this new stage at which our economic development and growth of population have arrived, will, I am convinced, add a new impulse to, and put more drive into, our advance northward, by causing a closer co-ordination of the various organizations engaged in the work, and a more definite fixing of responsibilities for its success.

Muddled thinking leads to muddled organization, which results always in over-lapping, confusion, conflict, recrimination, loss of time and energy, and general inefficiency. We are at a crucial transition period in the most gigantic enterprise that can be undertaken—the development of half a continent, the growth of a great nation. A close and constant study leading to a clear understanding of the interrelations, functions, and responsibilities of the various organizations growing up to push on with this vast undertaking is both the privilege and the duty of every intelligent Canadian citizen. (Loud and continued applause.)

PROF. HAULTAIN, head of the Department of Engineering University of Toronto, voiced the thanks of the Club to Dr. Corless.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND WORLD HEALTH

An Address by DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT, President of the Rockefeller Foundation

7th February, 1929

Introduced by the President, Dr. Vincent spoke as follows: It is always a pleasure to come to Toronto. As a matter of fact I have known Toronto for a longer period than most of you who are present. I can remember when the street cars did not run in Toronto; when it was a vital moral question which was vigorously debated and over the dead bodies, so as to speak, of the highest minded ideals of Toronto, did the street cars finally run. (Laughter.) At last, it seems incredible—I could have rubbed my eyes with astonishment, that I was allowed to live long enough to see the New Union Station. (Laughter and applause.)

I have a sardonic friend in London, who every now and then tells me precisely what is good for me to hear. Two years ago when I was having lunch with him, he told me that Great Britain had stood a great many things from the United States, but the hardest thing to endure has been American philanthropy. (Laughter.) That recalls to my mind another anecdote. To Sir Owen Seaman, Editor of *Punch,* to which I have been a subscriber for over 30 years, ever since 1892—one day in 1895, I said, "Why are you forever criticizing everything British. Everything you talk about, is in thoroughly disrespectful fashion, as though you felt everything was going wrong. I know what you think in your heart of hearts. Why do you pounce upon people in this way?" He looked me in the eye and said, "Do you really want to know?—It is so that we shall not be mistaken for American." (Laughter.) I did ask for it and I got it.

(Laughter.) Now these two anecdotes dating 25 or 30 years ago are things to reflect upon.

Every now and then you read in the papers, the Rockefeller this or that is giving something in Japan or Hong Kong. Who are these impertinent Americans? (Laughter.) What are they doing? Is it not characteristic of them? Doing things for people when people never asked them to intervene? Is it not a little bit impertinent? I am afraid that you have got the impression, I am not absolutely certain, that the people of the United States are really the only noble people living in a wicked world. (Laughter.) I have to be quite honest. This is perhaps a hang-over from an earlier day. Politicians represent traditions of the past, keep repeating old phrases popular in the past that used to work, because it would require exercise of the highest reflective powers to get a new set of phrases. (Laughter.)

Boastfulness in an individual is recognition that he is uncertain of himself. Nations boast when they feel uncertain of themselves. They become to some extent immodest. If they are British, they go so far as to abuse everything British. (Laughter.) I really think the United States is making progress in spite of some things said about us. I think American boastfulness has a good deal been soft-pedalled. We are beginning not perhaps to be modest. I would not go as far as that. (Laughter.) We do feel sure of our position in the world. If you apply these two anecdotes to the situation, I think they will throw a good deal of light upon why these American institutions are doing a great deal within the British Empire. Does it imply any reflecton upon the British? Is it arrogance or supercilious superiority? Let us consider what these Rockefeller groups are.

There is a great deal of confusion. We have been just having re-organization. There are a certain number of Rockefeller members. There is the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research at the head of which is Dr. S. Flexine stationed in New York. The Institute for Medical Research has no relation to the Rockefeller Foundation except as co-operative enterprises are carried on. This Board has been giving money for the development of educational systems in the Southern States, and for the general endowment of colleges of higher education in the United States. It is limited in its scope to the confines of the country. There is the Rockefeller Foundation which has recently been reorganized to include two other groups—the International Educational Board and the Laura Spellman Memorial Fund. There are just the General Education Board which works within the United States and the Rockefeller Foundation which works outside the United States, although it does a few things at home. Now why is the Rockefeller Foundation engaged in work in the British Empire? It is not because of a sense of superiority; it is not out of charitable motives, not because it wants to do good to the British Empire. It has certain things it wants to accomplish. It is very much interested in public health and the advancement of knowledge and research—the whole range of human knowledge from mathematics to the natural sciences, medical and social sciences.

The British Empire ever since I can remember has been tottering to its fall. (Laughter.) It has tottered a long time. (Laughter.) One recognizes tottering as its regular normal gait. (Laughter.) It hangs on as predictions on our side do not justify. It puzzles us. The Rockefeller Foundation in its remote historical and sociological investigations finds the British Empire here and in many places all over the world. How can the British Empire be utilized to promote research and public health throughout the world? What things have been done in the British Empire? I perfectly understand that London is not exclusively the sociological, political, aesthetic centre of the British Empire. But that it still occupies a place of conspicuousness I suppose will be admitted even in Toronto. Let us begin with the British Isles—what is left of it. To be systematic, let us begin with Edinburgh. You won't be surprised at this. If you make a map of the world you would see graduates everywhere except Scotland. Those not necessary for perpetuating the race are sent into the Empire. Thus if something were done in Edinburgh, it would have a wide influence all over the British Empire.

When you come to London, there is one medical school which represents all the elements of a modern medical school on one side—University College Medical School, while Guy's has a splendid Medical School. Only one place you have in London,—in Grace Street Medical School—with laboratories for patheological and bacteriological research. In Grace Street, you have a great hospital of six or seven hundred beds all under single management. There was an opportunity. In that impertinent or intrusive way which used to be characteristic of us we asked that we might be allowed to have a share. With sportsmanship which is characteristic of the British always they let us into the game. We said let us contribute £1,000,000 to that enterprise and the British did their part and they have contributed about £500,000 in addition to that enterprise, until there you have one of the conspicuous medical centres of the world. And it is a source of pride to us who have had just a little to do with it. University College Hospital is a part of that plant.

It seemed that something ought to be done in the way of getting a central site for the University of London which was scattered all over the place in about forty different units. There was some land, about 11½ acres which was in the right position for the University campus. The Government provided some money and private funds were available. So this opportunity to make the whole thing worth while was taken by giving £400,000. The University of London has now one of the finest campuses anywhere in the world. We got more and more connections in London. Then the question came how best to utilize public health boards in England? So a plan was worked out by which we agreed to give land if the British Government would undertake to support. I was one of these who went over to negotiate just as the Lloyd

George regime was coming to a fall and the Geddes axe was being wielded . Friends suggested that it was no time to suggest additional expense to the British Government. Sir Alfred Mond insisted on a hearing being given. "If it means maintenance for the future," he said, "my colleagues should have an opportunity of expressing their views." Cabinet immediately accepted the offer and agreed the necessary amount for maintenance. The next day I met Sir George Newman, Chief Health Officer of the Ministry of Health. I said, "There is a good deal of uncertainty about the Lloyd George Ministry. How about the next ministry?" "What do you mean?" he said. "Well," I said, "suppose another ministry came in and did not approve of this plan and were not willing to go on with it?" I saw I had made a fatal blunder. "Why," Sir George said, "I do not understand." I did make it a little clearer. "Why," he said, "No British Cabinet would ever think of going back on an agreement." Well that was a little education for me. (Laughter.) There has been some delay in the construction. Next October, adjoining the University of London, this great school of public health will start off as one of the great centres for the training of public health in all the world. To that institution will be sent fellows from all over the continent in order to get instruction.

There is the medical school in Cardiff and more recently a program of public health was worked out in the Irish Free State. Co-operation is just being undertaken with both the National Free State and Trinity College in Dublin. We put our money on both horses at once. (Laughter.) We took no chances and are preserving what is known as ministerial neutrality. Well now we get through the British Isles. We strike Halifax—Dalhousie Medical School which is one of the best combinations of medical schools and public health centres, and turning out splendidly equipped men from the school which is well organized and admirably conducted. It was a pleasure to have something to do with the reorganization and endowment of that institution. You might say we are raising our own Canadians for our work.

In the province of Quebec with the co-operation of the Provincial Government in the French-speaking areas we are carrying on one of the most interesting demonstrations of real health work anywhere in the world, getting the co-operation of the priests who urge people to go to health centres. In the city of Montreal there are two institutions we have had the pleasure of co-operating with—the McGill University with its medical school and the University of Montreal which has a medical school which is most promising and represents an excellent type of medical education. We come to Toronto. I do not want to give you undue pride of your own importance. (Laughter.) That would be supererogation. (Laughter.) The people who come here to visit the combination you have here go away saying, "This on the whole is unique." Here you have a university medical school working in close co-operation with a university school of public health, and working in close co-operation with an extremely efficient and finely organized city department of public health whose honourable head is here. You have the whole working with a broad-minded, forward-looking Provincial Department of Public Health. You have one of the finest systems of public health to be found anywhere in the world. I congratulate you with all my heart on a combination so good that we send to Toronto almost all of the nurses and Fellows that we bring from other countries, because they get more here in a smaller compass and a shorter time than anywhere else.

Then on to Alberta where there was an opportunity to do something for a very progressive and alert medical school. To British Columbia and now across the Atlantic to Hong Kong where it has been a very great privilege to endow three professorships. At Singapore the King Edward VII Medical School is a great credit to British science in the far east. Then Ceylon to India in many parts of which we have been co-operating with the public health authorities. A recent development was a very substantial contribution to public health in connection with the University of Calcutta. We pass on to Egypt and Jamaica where important work is being carried on.

I must refer to yellow fever which has been prevalent in Lagos on the West coast of Africa. In mentioning yellow fever I want to pay tribute to the memory of Adrian Stokes, an Irish bacteriologist, a splendid personality and sportsman who went down with yellow fever in some mysterious way. As soon as the disease was diagnosed, he called for experiments to be made on his own body. He asked that his blood might be transferred to monkies in order that the complications of his case might be studied. As long as consciousness lasted he talked about scientific problems. That represents sportsmanship of the highest level in human contact. (Applause.) Another Englishman, Dr. Young, who supervised work on the west coast of Africa came down with the infection which proved fatal in a few days. If it were permissible to disclose intimate records I could read letters from mother and widow to Dr. Young. What splendid courage these English women have. In all their sorrow they displayed that pride in his ideals and in the glorious death he died.

You see the sweep of this work done round the British Empire. Nearly a thousand Fellows are being maintained at the present time at an expense of nearly two million dollars—by funds from the Rockefeller Foundation. Nearly all of them are subjects of the British Empire, going from one country to another to carry on researches. Why is this being done? It is not being done with the hope of gratitude. Anybody who works for gratitude is going to be disappointed. Anybody who works from the desire to accumulate gratitude is working from a wrong motive, and deserves what he gets. We are doing nothing except the most selfish thing in the world. We are interested in promoting public health and science. We are selfish about it. We exploit anyone who will help us. It is purely a selfish thing. (Laughter.) The question of gratitude should not be considered. Your chairman most graciously alluded to understanding and goodwill. We are not working for understanding and goodwill. We have no fault to find with people who set out to promote goodwill. We have a theory that you do not promote goodwill by going straight after it. We feel if the peace of the world can survive the societies promoting peace and goodwill, it will be one of the marvellous phenomena of the time. It is like culture. You cannot put salt on culture's tail. The thing to do is to try and live a large rich life. The most cultured people in the world are the people who do not know they have it. I believe the same thing applies to international relations. Some think if you can get people together you are going to make them love each other. I need not tell them that tourist traffic is one of the dangers of international relations. People who get home remember how they got poor food and how the taxi driver overcharged them. These people do not know a great deal about promoting understanding and goodwill. What is the way? Work at some great task? The world is never going to be patched together. I have not said a word about that three thousand miles of boundary. (Laughter.) We have everworked that. Why not guns and ships? For the obvious reason, we have common interests. Lately there has been a little uncertainty about the boundary. (Laughter.) It has been fortified in other ways. (Laughter.) There is the other idea I have not said anything about hands across the sea for a long time because an Englishman said, "yes feeling for our pockets." (Laughter.) I am even afraid of saying anything about blood being thicker than water in case someone talks about blood suckers. (Laughter.) It has been a stimulating and stirring experience to meet all the fine men and women around the world and in the British Empire with whom we have been brought into contact. It has been a most gratifying and delightful experience and one which has given the greatest satisfaction to co-operate with the Empire at home and in the Dominions and Colonies in helping to build up great causes whose significance and influence spread beyond national borders and are a real contribution to that thing we call the civilization of the world which all of us have a little sneaking, lingering hope can be promoted more and more with better feeling and less animosity because people have discovered common interests and are bound together by sane genuine sentiment which is different to sentimentality—which is characteristic of those who work for common causes shoulder to shoulder, losing their self-consciousness in the great overwhelming sense of achievement in a glorious common undertaking. I have heard that an optimist is a person who sees an opportunity in every difficulty and a pessimist is one who sees difficulty in every opportunity. Let us be in a true genuine sense optimists,—in a sense that there may be difficulties—that these difficulties can be patiently and quickly turned into opportunities of better co-operation which may help to patch together this distracted old planet of ours. (Applause.)

DR. VINCENT was cordially thanked on behalf of the Club.

THE GREAT REMEMBRANCE

AN ADDRESS BY COL. HENRY C. OSBORNE, C.M.G.,
OTTAWA

14th February, 1929

COLONEL OSBORNE was introduced by the President, and spoke as follows: Gentlemen of the Empire Club, the subject of my address is, "The Great Remembrance",—a short title for an account of the accomplishments of the British Empire in commemoration of the glorious deeds of our people and of those who passed out of sight of men by the way of duty and self-sacrifice. These accomplishments have been on a scale never before dreamed of. They merit the keenest attention on the part of this generation, as undoubtedly they will command the interest and admiration of many generations to come. It is now fourteen and a half years since the beacon fires were lighted on the hills, and the tocsin sounded, to sum mon the nations of the earth to arms. It is about ten and a half years since "Cease fire" sounded along the long slopes which marked the battle line, where had been enacted unexampled scenes of valour and self-dedication. After such an interval, it is possible to look with clearer and steadier eyes upon the splendour of the sacrifice, which at close range stunned the mind and overwhelmed the spirit. But, in order to appreciate great events, it is necessary to see them in scale. The Zeppelin against the vast expanse of the sky is a mere speck, but it assumes colossal proportions when seen on the ground in relation to other objects. So it is with the Great War. In order to appreciate its magnitude it is necessary to think it over for a moment in relation to other conflicts of in any way a similar nature.

Twenty-four hundred years ago the fate of human progress hung in the balance. Should the infant energies of

Europe have a chance, or should the whole of the then known world pass under an Asiatic despotism, with its system of satraps and pachas and the fatal inertia, political and social, which followed in its train? That question was answered at Marathon—by two city-states, whose forces did not exceed 11,000 disciplined men and an equal number of light-armed troops. When Alexander the Great, one hundred and fifty years later, crossed the Dardanelles and did not stop his triumphant career till he had conquered Syria and Egypt, taken Babylon and passed the Tigris, he had at his disposal about 40,000 men. In our own history, in the great year 1066, when —to use Lord Macaulay's phrase—"as every schoolboy knows", there were three contestants for the British crown, and the victory lay with William the Conqueror, he was said to have gathered together for his enterprise the most remarkable and formidable armament that the western nations had witnessed. It consisted of 50,000 knights and 10,000 soldiers of inferior degree. At the time of Waterloo, the total number of men under Wellington's command in Belgium was 106,000, and the number under his command in the battle was 68,000. In the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese had 270,000 men, first-line troops, and 200,000 older troops in reserve. 270,000 is a formidable figure, but compare it for a moment with the Great War. I have never found any proper compilation of the troops actually engaged at any given time, but Nelson's Encyclopedia, in 1919, had a carefully prepared table giving in detail the number of troops mobilized for the Great War and during the Great War by all the belligerents; and what do you, gentlemen, think the figure was? 59,176,864! The number of fatal casualties, or, to put it bluntly, men killed, in the Great War, was 7,781,000. When it comes to casualties in the broader sense of the word, that is, men reported killed, wounded or missing, the total runs in excess of 33 million. Now I shall not stop to point a moral; but it should be apparent to those who talk lightly of war in the future, that, with the knowledge obtained in the Great War and the advances of science since, it is possibble to envisage the wholesale, organized destruction not only of soldiers, but of men, women and children, and indeed of whole populations. It will not be like the last plague in the Book of Exodus, when a great cry went up in Egypt and it was decreed that the firstborn of every family should die. It will be the complete obliteration of whole families and whole communities. In such circumstances one can easily conceive such a breakdown of human government that civilized society as we know it would come to an end.

A traveller in France who should be in the old city of Rouen, would naturally go into the cathedral, and there he would enter the Joan of Arc Chapel. Having done so, he would observe, close to the statue of the Maid, a beautiful tablet coloured and gilded and bearing the arms of Great Britain, surrounded by the arms of all the self-governing dominions of the British Empire, and the words

> "To the Glory of God and to the memory of one million dead of the British Empire who fell in the Great War of 1914-1918."

The presence of such a tablet in that particular chapel is not only a testimony to the healing hand of time, but also to the generosity of the French, when one remembers that five hundred years ago St. Joan herself was burned to death by the British in that same town. Similar tablets have been erected in other cathedrals in Belgium and France, and they will serve as perpetual and significant reminders, to all who read, of the part taken by our Empire in the greatest war in history. The British contribution in men was 6,000,000 from the British Isles, 1,500,000 from India, 600,000 from Canada, about the same from Australia, and proportionate quotas from other parts of the Empire. The number of fatal casualties, men killed—compiled again in 1919—among the British forces, was 1,019,882. The number of recorded and registered graves is about 600,000; so you will see that there remain over 400,000 who are in the tragic company of the "Missing", that is to say, those known to be dead, but having no known graves. The 600,000 graves are in 14,188 cemeteries in all parts of the world.

If it is not an irreverent speculation—it is not intended to be so—to conceive of heaven in terms of the ancient writings, what a wonderful thing it would be to have a parade of that million men there! What a grand thing to see a million men, the pride of our race, marching down the golden streets while all the trumpets of heaven sounded for them! One might even imagine that there would be assembled at the saluting-point all the great commanders of history—Moses and Joshua, Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon. If so they would see a spectacle the like of which perhaps even heaven never saw before.

However, we are concerned to-day with the commemoration of these splendid men on earth rather than with such fanciful ideas. This task was entrusted to a body known as The Imperial War Graves Commission, which was formed in 1917 following the deliberations of the Imperial War Conference. The Resolution approving its charter was moved by the Prime Minister of Canada. Thus came into being what one statesman has called the first truly imperial body which has yet been created. It may be described as an autonomous, imperial, administrative organization. The money is provided by the countries of the British Empire in proportion to their respective graves. Great Britain contributing 80 per cent., and the other 20 per cent. being divided among the Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies. Canada's share is about eight per cent. In the most effective sense of the term the Commission is autonomous;—it administers its own finances without the dominant control of the Treasury in England or the Finance Minister of any government. It is the creature not of one government, but of all the governments; we are all represented on it. It does not report through any one government, say the government of Great Britain, to the others interested; but it reports simultaneously, and in the same terms, to all the governments concerned. In other words, the Imperial War Graves Commission operates on the princpile of free co-operation, which, it would seem, is now the accepted principle by which the future unity of the British Empire is to be secured. I think it was implicit in the declarations of the last Imperial Conference that there should be such co-operation; and there is no more urgent problem before our Imperial statesmen than to discover ways and means to make co-operation effective, so that the whole weight of the British Empire—in itself a league of nations—may be brought to bear upon any given problem. This of course is not easy; but the extent to which it is achieved will be the measure of the power and influence of the British Empire in the future. Certainly there is something to be learned from the harmonious operation and conspicuous success of the Imperial War Graves Commission. It suggests the idea that some other matters of common concern might be dealt with in a similar way, and it is certainly the way that members of the same imperial family ought to work together.

Under the Commission's control there have been created in Belgium and France alone one thousand new British war cemeteries, containing from 300 to 10,000 graves each, and about 1,500 plots in parish or communal cemeteries. This is only the beginning. These cemeteries are to be found all the way from Antwerp to Jerusalem and from the Baltic to the Bosphorus. They stretch across Switzerland and Italy, across the Greek Islands, down the Gallipoli Peninsula, through Syria and Palestine, then southward to Egypt and East Africa. At Iraq, the ancient Chaldea, between the lower waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris there are seven. In all these parts of the world it is as if a giant had strode about, from the English Channel to the Sea of Galilee—leaving great white footmarks as he passed. The line extends across the north of India to China, to Australia and New Zealand, across Canada, where there are 7,000 war graves in 1,500 places, and so back to the British Isles, where there are 77,000 graves in 7,500 churchyards and cemeteries. In addition, these war graves and war plots are to be found in fifty other countries not mentioned, and not in the track I have indicated.

May I attempt to describe these cemeteries to you? As far as the countries of our allies are concerned, the land has been given in perpetuity. In other places it has been acquired. The cemeteries are artistically and permanently enclosed in stone, or stone and brick, walls. The headstones are of uniform pattern; indeed uniformity is the key-note of the whole scheme of commemoration. The field officer and the private soldier lie side by side, their graves marked in exactly the same way. The headstones are meant to typify the union of all "in motive, in action and in death". By their very uniformity, they speak in one voice of one death, one sacrifice, for a cause that was common to all. A feature of all the cemeteries is the Cross of Sacrifice. This memorial, a beautiful cross, to the face of which is fixed a great bronze sword, stands sentinel over the graves of British soldiers. Those who have seen them will have unfading pictures of these crosses; on the ramparts of Ypres, in sheltered nooks beneath the high ground along the western front, in the plains of Italy, amid the sands of Palestine or Mesopotamia, in the clear air of East Africa, or crowning the "brown-streaked cliffs of Gallipoli". Wherever found, they carry the same suggestion, namely, one sacrifice for a common cause. In the larger cemeteries there is another monument, the Stone of Remembrance, "a great fair stone of fine proportions", bearing the words, "THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE". And in the largest ones, such as Etaples, where there are 11,000 graves, eminent architects have designed other structures, which add dignity and grandeur to the cemeteries, in the form of wide terraces and vaulted buildings, which serve as record-houses or rest-houses where visitors go apart to meditate or pray. At Tyne Cot, Passchendaele, three German concrete blockhouses have been introduced into the scheme very effectively, and at the far side is a great screen wall, 500 feet long, on which are inscribed the names of 35,000 missing men. A feature which is common to all the cemeteries is the beautiful horticultural treatment. One walks on turf like that of old England, while the eye is charmed by a profusion of colour. Flowers are everywhere, in beds and borders and climbing over the headstones.

Curiously enough, one does not have a feeling of sadness on entering these cemeteries. The headstones are spread out in perfect order, as it were in platoons and regiments, and I have sometimes had a feeling that if the bugle sounded, all these soldiers would rise and march again. One is affected by the thought of the high courage and chivalry of the men who lie there amid so much beauty and in a silence broken only by the songs of birds. The feeling is not so much one of sadness as a curious exaltation, a sort of lifting up of the spirit. (Applause.)

I would like to tell you now what is being done about maintaining these cemeteries. On May 4th, 1920, Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons said:

> "The cemeteries which are going to be erected to the British dead on all the battlefields in all the theatres of war, will be entirely different from the ordinary cemeteries which mark the resting places of those who pass out in the common flow of human fate from year to year. They will be supported and sustained by the wealth of this great nation and Empire, as long as we remain a great nation and Empire; and there is no reason at all why, in periods as remote from our own as we ourselves are from the Tudors, the graveyards in France of this Great War, shall not remain an abiding and supreme memorial to the efforts and the glory of the British Army and the sacrifices made in that great cause."

In fulfilment of that pledge, the governments of the Empire have for some years been getting together by annual contributions a fund which is to reach the total of five million pounds. These contributions are vested in Trustees and the income from that fund will be used to maintain the cemeteries and memorials in order and beauty forever. (Applause.)

Now, Mr. Chairman, we sometimes speak of ancient remains; those of Assyria and Babylon and Greece and Rome, and undoubtedly from them we learn much of the character of the people who lived in those days. When many centuries have passed, these war cemeteries—these silent cities—will be found; and they will speak for us, to tell future generations the story of the men who lived in our day. And what an epic it will be! As far as Canada is concerned, when the story is all pieced together, it will speak of 600,000 of the flower of our manhood who at the call of king and country rallied to the colours and cast their all upon the hazard. The story of Canadian participation, the beginning and end, is very nicely told in the inscriptions on two tablets which have been erected specially by the Canadian government, one at the town of St. Nazaire, and one at Mons. St. Nazaire is on the Bay of Biscay where the first Canadian division landed in February, 1915. I had the privilege of interviewing the Mayor and Councillors of the city with regard to erecting this, and I tried to convey the idea that no matter who followed after, Canada was first. It is a most interesting historical fact that the landing of the Canadian troops was the first appearance in Europe of an army embodied on the continent of America. (Applause.) This tablet has a simple inscription:

> "Here landed the first Canadian Division eighteen thousand strong on the 12th February, 1916: three hundred and twenty thousand followed: throughout four years the Canadians fought the Germans: after engaging in twenty-six battles they marched in victory to the Rhine."

The other tablet concerns an event three and a half years later and was erected in the City Hall of Mons. It bears these words:

> "Mons was recaptured by the Canadian Corps on 11th November, 1918: after fifty months of German occupation freedom was restored to the city: here was fired the last shot of the Great War."

I told you a few moments ago that there were over 400,000 men who came in the category of the missing. It was and is the purpose and intention of the governments concerned that every one of these men shall be commemorated by name; and in order to carry out that idea the erection of great structures was necessary. On the high ground, forming a sea-mark for all passing in and out of the Dardanelles, there is a monument 100 feet high which carries the names of 18,000 men of the British Isles. On the Anzac Ridge of Gallipoli the missing of the Australians are commemorated. In Macedonia there is a similar monument to the Salonika force. At the southern end of the Suez Canal, at Port Tewfik, there is an interesting memorial to the Indian troops, a square obelisk, with flanking walls for the inscription. The sculpture takes the form of crouching tigers, one guarding the monument from the canal, and the other from the sea. There are a number of other such memorials, including four in Great Britain—three to men of the Royal Navy and one to the Mercantile Marine. It is of course in France and Belgium that this sort of commemoration is on the largest scale. The Ypres Salient is possibly the most blood-stained piece of ground in the world. At the Menin Gate, Ypres, at the town end of the causeway leading across the moat to the Menin Road, a magnificent arch has been erected. As one approaches it from the outside one sees, below the carved figure of a lion in repose, these words:

> "To the armies of the British Empire who stood here from 1914 to 1918 and to those of their dead who have no known grave."

The main hall of this most imposing memorial has a span of 70 feet; it is 50 feet high and 130 feet long, and in that hall and in the adjacent stairways and galleries are inscribed in stone the names of 56,000 men of the British Empire who were missing and lost their lives in those parts but have no known grave. Among these are 7,500 Canadians. Our total Canadian missing were in excess of 19,000. The remaining 11,500 are to be commemorated on our own monument at Vimy Ridge, about which I will speak in a moment. Another great memorial, counterpart of the Menin Arch, is being erected in the Somme, and it will carry 75,000 names, all or nearly all from British Isles.

All the work that I have so far mentioned, with the exception of the two bronze tablets, has been the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission. I am now going to tell you about some work that has been undertaken by Canada alone, through another honorary commission, purely Canadian, the expense of which is borne entirely by our own country. At the end of the war, consideration was given to certain sites which might with propriety be allotted to the different countries engaged. It was understood that sites might be allotted to countries at points at which their troops had taken a very important or decisive part. You are aware of the fact that circumstances permitted the Canadian Corps to be kept always up to strength; it was moved up and down the line, and as a result, eight sites were allotted to Canada. In order, from north to south, they are: Passchendaele, St. Julien, Hill 62, Sanctuary Wood, Vimy Ridge, Dury Cross Roads (the point where the Canadians broke what was known as the Quéant-Drocourt switch of the Hindenburg line), Bourlon Wood (the crossing of the Canal du Nord, one of the most outstanding tactical efforts of our forces), Courcelette in the Somme, and, finally, Le Quesnel in front of Amiens (marking the farthest point of the eight mile advance of the Canadians on August 8th, 1918). The Canadian Government acquired little parcels of land and these have been transformed into miniature parks. The treatment includes flagged pathways, a central courtyard, an elaborate system of planting, and they are really objects of great interest and beauty. With the exception of Vimy and St. Julien, where special monuments have been erected, the central features on these sites are blocks of Canadian granite with surrounding steps. Each block weighs fifteen tons;

they were shipped across the ocean and there they are, bearing inscriptions in English and in French. At St. Julien, where the Canadian troops first captured the imagination of the public and where, as evidenced by Field Marshal French's despatch, they may be said to have saved the day, on the occasion of the first emission of poison gas, a special monument has been erected. It was designed by Mr. F. C. Clemesha of Regina, and I remember when the competition took place there was some difference of opinion as to its merits or suitability. I am going to take the liberty of reading a short paragraph from the special correspondent of the Evening Standard of London, England, describing the impression made on at least one competent observer. He says, "A mile or so further on stands a monument which affected me beyond the power of stone. From a grey and giant sheath grow the head and shoulders of a Canadian soldier. The head, crowned with the familiar helmet, is bent, the hands are folded upon a reversed rifle; the soldier watches over those who sleep beneath. On the front of the plinth is the single word 'Canada'. On the sides, in raised yet hardly decipherable lettering, is the bare statement:—

> 'This column marks the Battlefield where 18,000 Canadians on the British Left withstood the first German gas attacks the 22nd-24th April, 1915. Two thousand fell and here lie buried.'

This has almost the power of the Greek: 'Stranger, depart and tell the Lacedemonians that we lie here obeying their laws.' One bows the head in humble acceptance; the bravest ornament were out of place. There is a mysterious power in this brooding figure, drawing you from the things that are to the things that were. It does more than command the landscape, it orders the spirit. The Guynemer monument is a pretty thing and a fine gesture; this is the soul of those who fell. It is conceivable that a grey day might add to the spiritual significance of this memorial; in the blazing August sun its shock is overwhelming."

About the same time in 1923 a special correspondent was sent by The Daily Graphic of London, England, and he describes the monument in much the same way, speaking of it as brooding "in mingled love and domination over the countryside". He adds "it is by far the finest memorial of the late war that I have seen, and the one that will tell future generations most about the Great War".

On the occasion of the unveiling of the monument Marshal Foch, that great gentleman and incomparable commander, paid a most handsome tribute to the Canadian troops. These are Marshal Foch's words:

> "It is indeed easy for me, at the foot of this Monument, to recall that fateful day when the Germans, in an effort to secure victory, had recourse to discharges of gas, violating yet another treaty, another solemn agreement.
>
> "How can one forget such events? Can you understand the deep anguish of the leaders who, surprised by new methods of attack against which they had no means of defence, had none the less to face them and send into the furnace men whom they knew in advance to be disarmed?
>
> "It is the glory of those men from Canada to have held fast, and, miracle of energy, counter-attacked St. Julien, making this village and the little neighbouring wood into a redoubt behind which Marshal French and I were able to seek and put into effect means which were to prevent the surprise from becoming a serious defeat.
>
> "The Canadians paid heavily for their sacrifice and the corner of earth on which this Monument of gratitude and piety rises has been bathed in their blood. They wrote here their first page of that Book of Glory which is the history of their participation in the war.
>
> "For it is not only here that their steady courage overcame the most desperate efforts of the enemy. We find the Canadians again at the Ridge of Vimy which they captured and widely overrun in a superb assault.
>
> "When the outlook is dark, at the end of March, Canadians are among the first who arrive in the breach before Amiens.

"And when, in August, the hour of the great offensive has come, Canadian troops break through the German lines on the road from Amiens to Roye and the first day advance more than 15 kilometres.

"That is only the preface of that ardent period during which the Canadians advance from Arras to Cambrai which they capture, breaking in their passage the famous Quéant-Drocourt line, reputed to be impregnable; then, tireless, always aggressive, they leave Douai, seize Valenciennes and at length take possession of Mons on the day of the Armistice, crowning by the capture of that city a battle of one hundred days in the course of which the Canadians spent themselves without counting the cost and performed the most illustrious exploits.

"In these hundred days they have liberated more than 700 square kilometres of French soil, 228 towns and villages, engaged and definitely broken 47 German divisions who leave in their hands more than 31,000 prisoners, 700 guns, 400 mortars and thousands of machine guns.

"It is with deep emotion that I recall these memories in front of this Monument, simple and strong like the Canadian spirit.

"I recall the days when, moved by the same feelings of justice and burning love of liberty, we fought together against the common enemy. This close collaboration gave us victory on the field of battle.

"Let me believe that the sacrifices mutually accepted by our soldiers have created between our countries imperishable bonds which intrigue will not be able to weaken.' "

I must now refer to our great monument on Vimy Ridge, which, as you know, is the design of your distinguished fellow-townsman, Mr. Walter S. Allward, and is being erected under his supervision. The land was given by the French to Canada. The site is at the highest point of the Ridge, opposite what is known as the King's Observation Post. From this point a wide view is had to the eastward, far across the Douai plain, and, to the southward, across the Scarpe. The monument is 200 feet square and rises to the height of about 125 feet. But the landscape is large and, were the monument smaller, it would be insignificant there. It is being built of stone which we are bringing from Jugo-Slavia, stone which was used by the Roman Emperor Diocletian for the building of his palace at that point in the third century. Mr. Allward says the monument represents a wall of defence. In front of it at either end are two finely sculptured groups which he calls the defenders. On the front wall is a heroic figure of a woman representing Canada in an attitude of mourning. Behind this wall, steps lead to the upper platform forty feet from the ground; and from there rise two pylons. Between these, at the base, is a group of statuary representing the spirit of sacrifice, a man throwing the torch to his comrade. On the inner faces of the pylons, springing out of the architecture, are chanting figures representing certain spiritual ideas. Questions have been asked as to the exact meaning of these two pylons. Mr. Allward's idea was that they signified two Forces, Canadian and French in this sense, that although the Canadians captured the Ridge and this monument is being erected to the memory of the exploits of our own troops, we could not forget the superb gallantry and enormous losses of the French, by which the whole region is bathed in French blood. This monument is being erected in France, and so Mr. Allward had the idea that it should suggest something of the gallantry and the great sacrifices of our ally, although it is being erected as a memorial to Canadian troops. (Applause.) In expression of that idea, one of the pylons bears on its side the maple leaves of Canada and the Crown, while the other bears the Fleur-de-Lis of France and the Laurel. On the walls of the monument are being carved at this moment the names of 11,500 missing Canadians,—those who are missing elsewhere than in Belgium. Those missing in Belgium are commemorated as I have said on the Menin Arch.

Gentlemen, when I tell this story, or think of it, I always rejoice in my British heritage. (Hear, hear.) I feel that the value and significance of the word British to Canada and Canadians never was greater than it is to-other nations have contributed to the progress of the day. (Applause.) With due appreciation of all that world, we can still claim that in political institutions, in the administration of justice, in civic virtue, in high standards of honourable dealing, in loyalty, courage, and competence, the British people have set a high, if not the highest, example before the world. (Applause.) If we truly do believe that we have here in Canada a saner and sounder civilization than obtains in some other countries, we must surely realize that it is due to the fact, or largely to the fact, that we did not cut ourselves off completely from Great Britain, that we maintaianed our contact, and that, by reason of such contact, there have been flowing through our national life, political and social, intellectual and cultural, and through our family life, streams which have their springs in the old and tried civilization of the Motherland. (Hear, hear.) Surely it should be one of our tasks to try and preserve those streams in freshness and vigour. If we do not, we shall lose a certain individuality of which I think we are proud; and we shall expose ourselves to that standardization of life, which is so much deplored by the most intelligent people throughout the whole of this continent.

As for these memorials, they are the visible signs of one of the greatest phenomena in history;—a solidarity of sentiment during the Great War, a common loyalty; possessed by the Mother Country, by the great Dominions, by the Colonies and Dependencies of this realm; men of many complexions and creeds, drawn from regions and climes so vast that they cover one-third of the earth, owing allegiance to one King, moved and governed by one impulse of loyalty and devotion. When was anything like it in the world before? (Applause.)

There are some words which John Bunyan in his Pilgrim's Progress puts into the mouth of a character as he went down to the river of death. "My sword", he said, "I give to him who shall succeed me in my pilgrimage." It seems to me such a sword has been bequeathed to us, and we have raised it up on these crosses of sacrifice which we have placed over the resting places of our comrades in many parts of the world. Thus raised, it is for us a symbol, reminding us of those whose pilgrimage we follow; calling upon us to preserve this British heritage to which they gave the last full measure of devotion, to honour the King, to live our lives with chivalry and courage, to serve our country, Canada, in peace as in war. If we do that, we shall have no occasion to be either sorry or ashamed, and this great work of our hands, which I have tried to describe, will not be a vain and fruitless gesture, but a true expression of the feelings in our hearts. (Applause.)

The thanks of the Club were tendered to the speaker by Lieut.-Colonel B. O. Hooper.

THE PEACE RIVER COUNTRY, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

AN ADDRESS BY RT. REV. E. F. ROBINS, D.D., PEACE RIVER, ALBERTA

21st February, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker, who said: I am pleased to know that a large map has been provided so that you may envision the Peace River Country about which I am to speak to you. I live at this point, where the Smoky River joins the Peace. I have been in that country for twenty years this year. If I speak in terms of the Diocese I must be forgiven, because I think in terms of the Diocese more generally. The Peace River watershed flows northward into the great Mackenzie River, and from my little home on the banks of the Peace River I look every day on the point of land where Mackenzie made his camp, shortly before the year 1800, and before he set out into the great north on his voyage to disvover the North West Passage. He was so greviously disappointed with the river which he did find —which now bears his noble name, Mackenzie—that he called the river Desolution, or Disappointment, because it had not revealed the great object of his journey. The rivers of all the country north of this point flow into the Arctic, while those south of that line flow into Hudson Bay; and the watershed of the Peace is practically comprised in about this area. Here is the Athabasca River; here is the Peace River; my home is practically due north of Revelstoke, B.C., and away south of me are the foothills of the Selkirk Range, which lie to the west of the Rocky Range. That will give you an idea of the distance west. When I am at home I am about 800 miles north of the latitude of the city of Toronto, and in the heart of the grain-growing country of the Peace River. We can grow grain 200 miles north of that. Last year approximately 1,000,000 acres of land were made over in the Peace River watershed to about 6,000 homesteaders—I have the exact figures up to 5,042 from two land offices.

People ask me if the country will bear such an amount of settlement. I anticipate it will bear it for at least another twenty years at that rate, and still we shall have some to spare. In saying that I am only speaking of the development of the land as a farmer's land. I cannot speak from the standpoint of lumbering, manufacturing or mining, for up to the present time the main development of the north has been agricultural.

I am asked to speak to the Empire Club of Canada. I like to repeat the name of your club, it seems to express so much, does it not—the Empire Club? (Applause.) I find that I am being introduced to audiences as the Apostle of the Peace River, and I shall be very grateful if such a name may ever be mine. I am to speak to you of the Peace River, Past, Present and Future.

The past was a history which had known no alteration from before the record of time until about the period when it came into my path of privilege and duty to go and give my life, as far as I could, for the need of the north which was just beginning to appear. I loved my vicarage in England, but I had not the heart to say to my young men and others in England who were dear to us—"Go to Canada!" while I remained behind. So I felt that it was my duty also to go to Canada; and Canada gave me such a kind and generous welcome—which is maintained in this hour when I am speaking to the Empire Club of Canada—that I shall ever regard it as amongst the best and highest and most inestimable privileges of a life that has not been altogether uneventful.

Twenty years ago I found there only the Indian population. Any change that was to be had hardly begun to appear; and in speaking of the past the Indians must be entirely in my mind in regard to the population of that north country. In my Diocese, which covers approximately 200,000 square miles, embracing all the watersheds of the Athabasca and Peace Rivers, there was but the Indian population. It is made up of different tribes and languages—Cree, Beaver, Slavi, Chippewyan—and they were scattered about in different groups in that great north land of forests, lakes, mountains and prairies. The size of my Diocese is comparable to an area running west from Montreal to London, Ontario, and going north from about this southern latitude up towards James Bay. In such an immensity of space you would expect to find a great variety of topography, and in every other respect, and it was so in that north country.

The highways of those days were the Indian trails, and the methods of travel could only be those of the Indian. There was no other possibility. In those early days we traversed the waters of these great rivers, and my wife did it all with me—(Cheers)—and she bears the name of one of the greatest travellers in the north. She has had every kind of experience, for she used to travel with me 1,000 miles a year in those early days, camping in a fresh place for almost every meal. We learned the use of the axe in the remote days which seem to us so long ago, but which are easily within the last twenty years of life. We had to look for Indians to take with us, for no white man knew the way, and no one with any wisdom would have dreamt of attempting alone those mighty rapids of the Athabasca River. The Lord Bishop of Mackenzie River, who is seated with us to-day, will recollect the thrill of those rapids. Those rivers and remote northern trails could only be traversed with the aid of an Indian guide, to whom alone the country in those days was familiar.

The very names are associated with the Indians. Athabasca is a Cree word signifying the opening out of something in a waterway, the delta of a river, or a clump of bull rushes, or moss, growing in a watery place. There is no literature among the Indians, no books, or newspapers, and no possibility of recording their traditions and tribal deeds except in the memories of the old men who pass them on in due course to the others. Only since white men have come to reside there has it been possible to make official records. In their tribal records, summarized and passed down from one old man whose memory was more retentive and vigorous than the others, to another, is the story of the Peace River. Obviously this must mave been before there was any boundary between Canada and the United States, and before uniting of the great varied population of those two lands under their common governments and controls. When the Indian roamed over the pathless ways of the prairies and crossed rivers and lakes and mountains there was a conflict so severe that it remained long in their memories. The southern men pressed the northern men back and back until it was impossible for northern men to retire any further. At a certain point on the Peace River there is an immense outcropping of gypsum. I passed up that river in 1912, and it took me three months away from civilization or contact with the outside world. I was very much impressed when I saw a great outcropping of gypsum on the southern banks of the Peace River, for the Peace is flowing west and east at that point. The northern men made their last stand because they could not cross the river. They gave in and made a pact that from that time a truce should be observed, and never be broken; and in the flowing, beautiful imagery of speech of which the Indian is a master he made his legal promise that this great white rock of gypsum which stands by the flowing waters which here pass on to the distance where the sun rises in the great space beyond—that this great white rock and the flowing waters should ever bear record to the fact that the Peace was made, and that the waters that flow by the white rock should be called the Waters of the Peace. That is the Indian origin of the name Peace River. (Applause.)

Very rarely in life do men attain, without complication of some sort, the object which they set out to reach. The explorer, whatever may lure him—whether in deep waters or forests or mountains—very rarely attains his object without bringing to pass something he never purposed. The inventor and the scientific researcher find it the same. In life there will always come an augmentation of things which you do not set out to bring into materialization. So when the Hudsons Bay Company began fur-trading among the Indians, and the missionaries began to enter into these remote distances, in the name of the Lord, to evangelize those Indians, those white men began to make little gardens around their homesteads, whereever their posts might be. They sent back, over the distance, for seeds, and they were amazed to find how splendid the returns were in that frost-destined land of which I speak, away down here to Lake Athabasca or here on the Peace River, or anywhere in this north country, more particularly hundreds of miles to the south here. Then the idea began to suggest itself, whether it might not be possible that some day this might be called a white man's land, where successful agriculture might be established .

You know, gentlemen, that the primary honours for grain before all the world, in competition, for three years, belong to the Peace River. (Applause.)

The young homesteader who secured so signal a reputation I know well, and my friend Canon Vernon, who is sitting with us, shook hands with him last October when we were there together. I know his wife, and his family. He is just one homesteader among others, an outstanding instance of diligence that has made the most of that northern climate, that land of sunshine, and clear, translucent atmopshere, where the prevailing light in the hours of night-time is such that when the summer is with us it seems as if from that rich nitrogenous soil there is maintained so vigorous a growth, so fine a result, that a man of outstanding gifts in the art of agriculture, may well hope to put his products in competition with any others, whomsoever, from all the world, and retain some degree of anticipation that he will secure a signal reward. It has been done. (Applause.)

When the Klondike rush was on, men were anxious to make any short-cut to that land of gold. Many tried to reach it by the waterways of the Athabasca and the Peace, but it seems that few succeeded and many failed. Among the failures were some who, unable to go back or go forward, satisfied with the aspect of the country in which they found themselves, became squatters, and began to cultivate land, and here and there, intermittently, you will find in that north country those who set out to find the gold of Klondike but who to-day are finding gold through the medium of the plow and reaper, in golden grain, and putting it into sacks and sending it to feed multitudes outside, for they are agriculturists. (Hear, hear.)

I will speak of the flowers of the north, which grew, I suppose, from the time that our Heavenly Father, in His mighty creative power, formed the world, and they produced their seed and grew again, through all the centuries that have passed. So we found the presence of those wild flowers. As soon as the snow disappears, any time after April comes in, we find the beautiful prairie crocus, an anemone, which selects its own situations, preferring exposed aspects and rather sandy soil. You find the wood anemone. Then the violet, and the tiger lily, very beautiful in form and colour, and on through the summer a great profusion of wild roses. It is a very delightful experience in these days when white men are settled there, and the roads are graded and the cars are, as a rule, driven along the centre way,—we have not an enormous number of cars, and most of us drive on the same trail—to find wild roses and other flowers that may be seen on either hand. Then later there comes the little aster, the michaelmas daisy, and on sloping banks, perhaps considerable space covered entirely with the beauty of their delicate colour. Then leaving out many, but speaking of those more common and prevalent among which is the larkspur with its deep blue tint, at last you get the golden rod. Then winter begins again.

As to animals in this land, once the natural home of herds of wild buffalo, and destined yet to be the roaming ground of his protected descendent, we have the bear, and moose, and cariboo and the jumping deer, and of course the fox, and lynx, and coyote and wolf, and everywhere the rabbit. All the fur we get down north follows the rabbit; that is a common expression—"down north". Our rivers are flowing from the southern latitude down to the Arctic sea, and it is "down north". In that country you find perpetual migration of the fur following the rabbit, which ever seeks new ground; first in one district far off, and then another further and further until they return and occupy the old ground. Thus the migration ever proceeds, fur following the rabbit.

As to trees, I think there is no place where it is possible to make a journey, summer or winter, without finding forests. There will be lumber mills to a very large extent. Already there are some, but not of the capacity which will yet be demonstrated. We have spruce, poplar and jack pine mainly, and the graceful tamarac of hard enduring texture in swampy places.

Of birds we have the blackbird, duck, robin, house-wren, house-sparrow, martin, wood-pecker, chick-a-dee, the loon, the whisky jack and others. Song birds seem to follow the tide of domestic settlement.

I wonder if you have ever been served with wild swan? I have had swan only once, and it was on the banks of the Athabasca years ago, when the O.C. of the Mounted Police had been presented with a wild swan. We said, "That is a royal bird, we had better do honours to the occasion." Therefore the Major and his guests appeared in evening dress, and we put the bird on the table. Somebody remarked that the swan lived to great antiquity, even to a hundred years. (Laughter.)

When we sat down we tried to eat that swan, but we became convinced that that lady bird was like some other ladies of advancing years, and had under-estimated its age—(Laughter)—of a hundred years or something more Last summer I was in a terrific thunder storm in June the clouds were as ink, and the rain was coming down in a deluge. I saw, flying right into the storm cloud, a beautiful group of ten white swan, and in some way a gleam of light that made itself evident was shining on them. A more delightful sight I have rarely seen. I have also observed the eagle fighting its way into a storm, a majestic and impressive sight.

I cannot speak much of the minerals of the north. We are only in the exploring stage at present. I understand that this particular portion to the North East is being very much explored just now. Coal in enormous reserves are here, to the far South West, and coal of a splendid type. You are quite familiar now with the Alberta soft coal. There are unreserved supplies, and you can order as much as you please without exhausting it, and we shall yet have enough for Canada's need for an unthinkable period of time to come.

We have not commenced to develop our salt fields, and I think that may become an active industry. I have referred to gypsum. I have seen men washing for gold, and have seen the grains now and then. I do not care to say more than that. I think real prospecting for minerals may as yet be in rather an early stage.

As to the future, I believe the historic devolopment of the land is entirely in the hands of the white population. There are thousands of homesteaders active now in the Peace River belt, and I have the records for all the sending of grain for the past few years. Let me give a comparison by way of illustration. In the year 1910 I was an exceedingly fortunate man. I was on one of my long journeys with a springless wagon, we never carried a spring, we should have broken it over rocks and stumps and rivers. We made camp night after night and passed on. I knew that I should have just the one team of horses, and could not replace it, and there would be no barn for them to shelter in, or hay for their sustenence. They got good pasture on the native grass of the north land, for the native forage plants are very satisfactory. I secured a sack of oats. An Ontario man who was settled above the banks of the Peace River sold them to me, and when he took $2.50 for them he remarked, "I would much rather have the grain, greatly as I need that money, but it is for you and your work, so I will let it go." Thus we had our one sack of oats to last for the entire journey and back again. You can imagine how extremely precious they were, as there was no hope of adding to the supply. Now contrast this.

The returns for grain show that from August 1, 1927, to November 30, 1928, the railways of the north country carried 14,234,895 bushels of grain. (Applause.) Of that there were 10,000,000 bushels of wheat, 3,400,000 oats, 513,000 bushels of barley. That gives you a vision of the tremendous changes taking place.

I told you at the beginning why I am there. From first to last it is as a missionary. The study of grain or other interesting products is only by the way, and I am speaking of them because you desire to know the country. My presence there is purely for missionary purposes, and therefore churches, thank God, are established throughout the distant parts of the land where people have settled. (Applause.)

We are confronted with a greater problem—immigration is revived. I told you of the large number who went into the north country last year. I apprehend there will be more this year, and they are going all through the vastness of that land. I do not want you to think of any little district, or to suppose that they adopt some given district and all populate it. They do not; they are at liberty to take any homestead they please, to go wherever they like, and they go where the aspect is best. As the other homesteaders have done, they will grow more and more grain, and produce gardens of vegetables and flowers, for we can produce on the Peace River most of the ordinary varieties of table vegetables and flowers that you can in this southern latitude.

I happened to be broadcasting, and mentioned, among other vegetables, that pumpkins could be grown in the north, and a young man from California told me last autumn in my garden by the Peace River that when his father heard it he said, "that is good enough for me, I am going there,"—(Laughter.) I asked him if he was going to stay. He replied that he was filing on land for himself and his father. He asked me about growing pumpkins; I told him I had pumpkin pie in August last, and that he could easily grow pumpkins, and all other kinds of vegetables, which were so delightful on the table. We ripen tomatoes out of doors. We take off our asparagus very quickly after the snow disappears. All through May we can get asparagus, and very delicious it is.

Of course you understand these things have come to be by experiment. We did not know what the land would yield, but we are always experimenting. I am experimenting with apples and plums. I have not produced any apples, but I once produced five plums, and with great ceremony we decided they should be eaten. We were very pleased when they were finished, because it was rather a distressing process. (Laughter.) I think I may get some crab-apples after a time. The first grower of asparagus I ever knew came and said he was not going to grow any more, and when I asked him how he cooked it he said he boiled it, but it was so awfully stringy he couldn't enjoy it, and as to those red berries, he had never tasted anything like them. (Laughter.) Well, I had to educate him about the time at which asparagus should be cut, and he does not give any away now.

Then there is the problem of nationality. It concerns the Empire Club. I cannot say that we have not people there of such nationality that we should prefer other nations. This Canada of ours is open to all nations—(Applause)—and all we ask of the people is that they shall keep our laws and respect and honour our institutions. There are people there whom we would not elect to have if we had our choice; but they are there, and they have a right to be. There are people everywhere whom you don't like. You remembber "Punch's" description from "The Misanthrope's Mixed Bag":—

"Grandmammas with Eton crops;
Grandpapas who perform at 'hops';
People with hands like cold pork chops.

People who dance on escalators;
People who swear at hard-worked waiters;
Bishops with badly-buttoned gaiters."

We don't like that class of person!

And then recently, even in the home circle, the father who deplored:—

"I have an elder son,
Who has a younger brother;
I never liked the one,
And can't abide the other."

Yet they get on together. And we in the North get on together.

I am thankful to say we are not troubled with a problem of such magnitude that we are particularly harassed about it, but only we do want to preserve a wise balance, so that the true British ideals of this Dominion and this nation of ours may be rightly observed and established. But as a missionary of the church I am not so troubled about it. I feel that all the cosmopolitan crowd is offering me, ever, a splendid opportunity for the very purpose that I am there to attain. (Applause.) Yet in looking at it from the national point of view, I do want to see the north country, and indeed all Canada, safeguarded for our own race, however mixed the making up of that race and nation may be. (Applause.)

But there is this danger when people of different nations come. Now, I want to respect this fact, that from the largest land office in my Diocese last year, the official record came to me that three-fourths of all who took up homesteads in 1928, through that land office, were either of British or American citizenship. (Hear, hear.) That was splendid; that is safe enough; we do not mind the twenty-five per cent.; we can handle them; they are needed, and they will do tasks which perhaps others are not so willing to perform. I do not mean that it is a danger that we need not be at all apprehensive of, for it is well recognized that when you get a very mixed body of people to come, they have to fraternize. When the common needs of humanity arise, and the elementary things of life make themselves felt, it will be demonstrated that you are in this danger; whatever may be the nationality of those people, whatever may be their morality, whatever may be their religion, when they mingle with other nations and other forms of morality they are apt to become slack. There comes a laxity. There comes that absence of definition. There is the danger of society being of amorphous aspect, and as a matter of fact, nothing in it which is vivid and defined. It is the most dangerous condition which I think we can anticipate.

Now, that is just where such a club as this is most required, to teach those cosmopolitan people, or the product of those cosmopolitans, those institutions, those splendid ideals, which belong to the Empire, and our Dominion and ourselves.

Take the question of marriage. When you get a mixed body of people, as you may in the great west and the north—I am safeguarding the subject by telling you I am not troubled by an undue present danger in the north; I am reasonably satisfied with things as they are, if we can maintain it so—but you may have the cult of the Slav and the Latin and the German and Hungarian and Semitic all mingled together. What will be the product? Those young people see each other; they fall in love; there is marriage. Doubtless there will be splendid men of business. They will be virile; they will be active; but what is to be the moral tone? What will be the moral and religious character, unless we to whom these ideals of the Christian faith must necessarily be preeminent—as I anticipate they are in such a club as this—unless we, from our sense of duty and privilege, do our utmost to put those principles, those foundation truths, and the whole structure which makes up the integrity and stability of our Empire and our people at the best, before the cosmopolitan body of whom I speak?

Finally, I would say, as we look towards the future—and I do not pretend to see it fully—the mighty water powers of the north have not yet been scientifically estimated, nor the latent potentialities of the land decided upon. They will give employment for multitudes of men. The railways are but commencing. The Canadian Pacific Railway, with its great force, is just going in, and the Canadian National has chosen to go in with it. I do not know what it all means. Of course we shall have our coast outlet. That must come; we could not expand otherwise, and we must grow. We cannot stand still. The north must necessarily develop, from whatever point of view you examine it. But after all, I feel, with those years of experience, something like the poet wrote in words you all know—

"Lead, kindly Light . . . .
I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me."

I cannot project the future, and we have not come to the day of the old man in the north; there is no dreaming yet, and the dreaming is for the older men, the vision is for the younger men. If I dare to let my vision run, I see in it a people to be mightier and mightier yet, a people God-fearing and contented and loyal; a people of business, of industries, of commerce and agriculture, with lumbering and mines and fisheries, with all those potentialities which just wait for special development. And if with it all we can maintain—as, please God, we will—the splendid records of our Empire and our Nation, with our Flag above all, standing as it does for the highest ideals of the Christian faith, then we have a right to predict that in the future, by the grace of God, the Peace River Country will become a strong nation of people, safeguarded, dependable, and influentially prosperous. (Applause.)

Rev. Dr. Cody expressed the thanks of the Club to Bishop Robins.

NATIONHOOD WITHIN THE EMPIRE

An Address by MR. FREDERICK PHILIP GROVE.

28th February, 1929

President Eayrs introduced the speaker, who said: Mr. President—gentlemen—you hear a great deal, these days, of the inexhaustible resources of this Dominion. I have no doubt they are very great; just how great, I, not being versed in such matters, must leave to others to estimate and to ascertain.

Great, too, are the resources of such stretches of land as the Atacama desert or the islands off the Pacific coast of South America whence guano is shipped to all quarters of the globe. Great, in dim antiquity, seemed the resources of Spain to the ancient Romans. There is a tradition that the same Romans coveted Britain because its soil held tin. No doubt many of the old Britons grew very rich through the trade. We read in Tacitus that, with the Roman trade, such "alluring vices"—his name for luxuries—as the porch in front of the house, the bath with hot and cold water, and the pride and pomp of the formal dinner table found their way into the barbarous colony. But the canny old philosopher adds, "This sort of thing they, in their ignorance, called culture; whereas it was merely part of their slavery."

Is wealth, or, the same thing under another name, a great material civilization, at any time or in any place a thing to boast of?

True civilizations have always grown out of a spiritual soil, not a material one; and spiritually no nation was ever prepared to make a profitable use of a great material civilization until it was also ready to scoff at the so-called blessings which such a civilization had to bestow.

If a great material civilization was bestowed—as was the case with all colonial countries—upon a people that was spiritually unprepared for it, it could have only one effect, and that a coarsening one which necessarily prevented the deeper nature of that people from maturing its finest blossoms. It has been that way in ancient Spain. It did not produce a true civilization of its own. Is that what we covet for Canada?

But Canada has been aspiring to nationhood. Is Canada going to be content with the part which Spain or Sicily played in the Roman Empire?

Material resources are not going to give us a right to be proud of ourselves. The true importance of nations as well as of individuals can never be measured by economic standards. We cannot claim to be great because we are rich.

Let me, at the outset, state it as my fundamental belief that we, in the present, cannot be truly great except through what posterity will call so. With nations as with individuals "fame is the recompense not of the living but the dead".

Yet, when I look into the still short past of this our country, I find a few things which the people of Canada have done and of which they have a right to be proud; but they are not the things that are commonly mentioned.

Thus there lives, in the far east of this country, a distinct race, those of French origin. They were a conquered race once; they are a free race to-day. When they were flooded and almost drowned out by the Anglo-Saxon influx, they became a testimony to the world that a nation may be conquered and yet remain a nation by the strength of their inner cohesion. Who would say to-day that French Canada, though a group separate within and distinguished from the rest of the Dominion is any the less an integral part of that Dominion than any one of the other eight provinces? It is the highest praise both for French Canada and for the principles dominant in the British Empire that this unique situation has become a fact; within an Anglo-Saxon federation there lives an alien race not only willing but eager to uphold a union which at one time was forced upon it. That race has proved itself in adversity. We can only honour it on that account; in honouring it, we honour ourselves.

It has been said that Canada can never be a nation so long as it is a "dependency" within an empire. The best repudiation of that is what I have just said about French Quebec.

If next, from Quebec, we glance at the rest of the Dominion, we find a situation not dissimilar but applying to the whole.

South of our borders lives a mighty nation which is reaching out with its tentacles over the globe—with a view towards the Americanisation, as it is commonly called, of that globe; a nation proud of its wealth and power and proud of its great material civilization. But all over the world, even in the Latin republics of the western continents, we find a certain disquietude at the growth of its influence. All over the world that influence is, by thoughtful minds, considered as dangerous, as a shallowing of ancient standards, as a reorientation of men's minds and desires towards things material rather than spiritual.

The very word Americanisation is a challenge to us; for we, too, though living in Canada, live in America. Are we going to allow ourselves to be identified with that tendency of our neighbours to the south which bids fair to recast the values of life for an awe-struck world? Gentlemen, the fight is on between the ancient ideals of Europe and those of this new America which is asserting itself from day to day. There are those who have found a name for the process: The Drift of the Nations. The centre of gravity of the white world, they assert, is shifting. If it is, what is the meaning, what the direction of that change?

Civilization, in times gone-by, has meant a moral and spiritual trend; it is beginning, with us, to mean an economic urge; and thereby it is losing the only meaning it can have which is worthy of man. It goes without saying that in a great nation like that to our south there are many minds who clearly see the point at issue and who are fighting by our sides. But if we view the trend of the hour by-and-large, we cannot but come to the conclusion that, in that nation, the great Anglo-Saxon tradition as it came from Europe is in danger of going into eclipse. That tradition, itself part of the European tradition, a tradition old and grey-haired, perhaps, and certainly restrained and reticent, yet for all that still fiery-hearted, is a compound of the greatest religious urge which the world has seen, that of Judah, and the greatest artistic urge which the world has seen, that of Greece. Its God is the god of goodness and truth; its dream that of beauty; its law a retracing of that divine law born within us which cares for nothing but what is right; its aim, the realization of man's fullest potentialities as a creature formed in the image of God—that is, of the highest perfection which the human mind can conceive.

What bearing has all this on my topic? This, that from it I derive one of the most hopeful signs for our own Dominion.

Canada and the United States are of pretty much the same age.

But Canada, with her neighbour and brother growing faster and faster, has thus slowly grown up within that neighbour's shadow. It has had to stand the pressure of capital: one-eighth of the industrial enterprises within our borders, they tell me, are owned by American capital. It has stood the pressure of the example given by the shallow ease of the life led by the industrial masses across the border. It has stood the influx of millions upon millions of books which insinuate among us American ideas all the more subtly and effectively since they do so indirectly. It has stood the flood of American magazines which trumpet forth the new gospel of economic success more crudely perhaps, but also with a more brassy voice which immature minds find it hard to resist; and as a consequence it has lost vast numbers of its young.

I come to the point at last. But in spite of all that the Canadian travelling in the United States is still recognized as a Canadian. They call us slow; let us glory in that epithet. A few months ago a cultured and learned European en tour in the east, in a conversation I had with him, scoffed at the idea of Canada's nationhood. What, he asked, have you done to lift you out from the mass of second-rate nations? We have done this, I replied; we have lived for centuries in the shadow of a more powerful brother, lured and driven to imitate him. We have withstood the influence of example and pressure and almost compulsion. What but annexation is missing in that domination exerted by a great nation over a smaller one. Suppose annexation came. Would it mean absorption? If we can trust the testimony of the past, it would not. We would still be a separate group within a huge whole, a group with its own individual character; just as within our borders Quebec is a unit, not hostile to, but differentiated from the rest.

Such is our achievement. Shall we rest on our laurels? A war is on; we can never rest.

What, then, is the essence of nationhood? Individuality of the nation's civilization.

If, however, nationhood manifests itself in individuality or characteristic distinction, the question arises, in what field of human endeavour does such a distinction show? A nation's characteristic national criteria cannot be looked for in material things. We must look for them in the things of the spirit. What are they?

We often hear the word spiritual used in a way which shows that there is much confusion as to its meaning. Yet the very good word proclaims that meaning with no ambiguous sound. It tells of the old dualism between body and mind, body and soul, body and heart. Material things concern the body, spiritual things concern mind, soul and heart.

Consequently, the so-called higher activities of man are commonly divided into three branches: religion, science, art; and we call the three eternal values for which man strives Goodness, Truth, Beauty. There was a time when religion alone fulfilled the three needs; it gave us, not only a system of ethics, but a cosmogony as well, and a subject for contemplation which embodied that perfection which we vaguely call beauty. That fact should remind us of a fundamental unity underlying the three activities. They are fundamentally one, even though they represent the three facets of a single crystal.

They satisfy one fundamental need of mankind, and that an emotional one. We wish to feel in accord with a great tendency or direction of development which we seem to observe in nature and in history. We wish to bring our intuitions into harmony with what we see, searching for that accurate truth which we feel must be one and must offer no contradiction. We wish to find in all things that at which we would look again and again, searching for that beauty which consists in perfection of design.

But the strange and, to us, incomprehensible thing is that religion—itself a birth of the human heart—demands of us a belief in things which we cannot grasp with our minds; that science, true science, confronts us on all sides with an enormous "We don't know and shall never know!" tracing out for us the limits of our ignorance rather than of our knowledge; and that perfection in things human cannot be attained, so that beauty is an ideal rather to be striven for than a goal to be achieved. These three antinomies are fundamental conditions of human life; and the unity of the three branches of man's higher activities as they are commonly called is therefore fundamentally a tragic one. It spells failure, and at the end of failure waits death.

All religion, all science, all art lead us on to that realization, and to a generally tragic reaction of the human soul to the fundamental conditions of man's life on earth.

No modern optimism, gentlemen, no labour-saving de-vices, no boast of natural resources and wealth will help us to be blind if we care to look. Should any one doubt, let him read the Bible. Let him read Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Shakespeare. And when he has learned to cull the essentials from the inessentials, let him read such mirthless laughter as Aristophanes' comedies, or Moliere, or Congreve or Shaw.

It should be easy now to define the essential characteristic of nationhood. Nationhood must depend on a new or distinctive shade in the generally tragic reaction of the human soul to the fundamental conditions of man's life on earth.

In the general reaction to life and the universe of the people of Canada, and more especially of the older people, and again, more especially of the older people in our west, I discover, than , a continuation of that old, European tradition of which I have spoken, as distinguished from the new-born American tradition which has not yet found its way to the fundamentals.

But I also discover something which subtly diverges from that European tradition.

Yet, before I try to define these two things, I wish to wind up my central argument.

That Canada is one day going to be the economic centre of the British Empire may well be. Those who know more about such things than I do assert it; but it is nothing to boast of. We did not lay down the clay of its plains which bears its wheat-fields; we did not raise up its mountains nor wear them down to the point where they reveal their hidden treasures. We can boast only of what we have done ourselves. We can boast of the fact that we have stood out against the enormous pressure exerted upon us by a more powerful sister-nation; and that we still represent an individuality in the American family. If we are worthy and able to hold on to and make truly ours what was handed down to us, then, perhaps, in the distant, and yet, as the lives of nations go, not too distant future, Canada stands a chance of counting as one of the spiritual units which will go to make up a greater British Empire. And that is all we can say at the present.

It remains for me to define, or, perhaps, to illustrate rather what I have found in certain strata of the ever-shifting population of our west.

It consists in the unification of such a spiritual reaction to life and the world as I have spoken of. History teaches us that throughout mankind a national movement of such a spiritual experience—we might call it a unified, national movement of art and thought, or of art and religion has, in the past, proved to be the only thing which has ever justified the existence of any nation on earth. Material civilizations rise and fall; and the wind takes care of their fame. Spiritual civilizations endure. For an example, look at Judah and at Greece.

It is the spiritual content of a civilization which makes it endure for after ages. Greece and Judah are a reality to-day even though, as political units they have fallen into the dust. Just as the spiritual achievement of individual men is the only thing that remains when they lie under the sod. The reason is that spiritual achievement furthers mankind on its way—on that way which we must infer to be the way of a trend hidden in events, whether that trend be enforced by a divine will or inherent in a process which we have come to call evolution.

These men and women of the Canadian west where, I believe, they form larger groups than elsewhere, groups composed of all nationalities, are distinctly opposed to what we call the proud march of our great material civilization.

In an age gone insane with transportation and speed—an age forgetting eternal things in the hunt for material things—an age reaching out, not for happiness, but for comfort and pleasure, and for that ease of life which, by the very conditions of man's existence on earth, is denied us—in such an age they stand unmoved—like Abraham, Isaac, Jacob—like the British yeomen of old—like the present-day, mid-European peasant—concerned with eternally valid things, things valid no matter where life is lived, no matter when—concerned with the problem of right living rather than with the problem of acquiring wealth—concerned with Goodness, Truth, Beauty—the goodness of the home, germ and breeding-place of the greatness of nations; the truth of their own reaction to life and the world, a reaction which is largely that of the Bible; and the beauty of that universe in which, for every pair of lovers, the evening and the morning still make the first day.

Many of them can neither read nor write. What does it matter?

For in their perhaps dull and inarticulate way they strive for a very great thing; and if they heard me define it here in my own words, they would perhaps stand amazed and deny that they know what I am talking about. And yet it is there; and the thing they strive for is threefold. They strive for a final evaluation of life in terms of that eternity which is always present to them; they strive for a recognition of man's true place in nature, defined by the fact that he was endowed with the gift of reason; and they strive for a determination of the balance, so far attained, within themselves and their own lives, between man's beasthood and man's godhead.

By doing so, they prepare the soil from which new thought, new art can spring. And as, in this broad country of ours, old men and women from all quarters of the globe bend over dog-eared and frayed copies of the Bible and other cherished books, with muttering lip and the finger following the line, they are giving birth—they rather than the busy merchant or owner of forges—they rather than the smooth, imitative poet of our magazines—they rather than the glib writer of patriotic leading articles in our papers—to the things and thoughts that develop nationhood.

Let me add one more thing. In their eyes, as they read or speak, I have found a thing which I have never found in the eyes of European peasants. I don't know what it is; a new hopefulness perhaps. I don't know whence it comes; but it must be bred by something peculiar to Canada; whether, as some have asserted, that something be the wider spaces of our plains, the greater height of our mountains, the vaster extent of our indented shore-lines or what. I have sometimes thought that perhaps it arises from the fact that here they stand on soil which they can own; for I take it to be a desire still inherent in man as borne of woman to own that bit of land whence, with tentative mind, he reaches out into the dark mysteries that surround us.

In that reaching out he strives for that distinctive shade in the generally tragic reaction of the human soul to the fundamental conditions of man's life on earth which I have defined as individuality in a people's civilization. On that individuality, I have said, depends true nationhood. With that, gentlemen, I will rest my case.

Mr. Hector Charlesworth voiced the thanks of the Club to the speaker.

FOLK SONGS OF FRENCH CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY MARIUS BARBEAU.

Assisted by Phileas Bedard, folk singer, Miss Florence Glenn, soprano and Miss Gwendolyn Williams, at the piano.

7th March, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker and artists.

MR. BARBEAU said: It is a pleasure and a great privilege for Mr. Bédard and myself to be your guests a second time and to renew your brief acquaintance with a subject long familiar to us—the ancient folk songs of French Canada.

Our field is vast as it is picturesque and diversified. You may judge of it from the extent of our collections in the National Museum at Ottawa—more than 6,500 records, and the work of compilation still goes on. The origin of our songs alone is a fascinating subject that might arrest our attention. How these valuable relics came down to us from a past age, were brought over from provincial France by the early settlers about three hundred years ago, and since were conserved by generations of reminiscent singers and adapted to new surroundings in the New World—is indeed a colourful and romantic story. It forms a chapter in the history of New France and Canada, our history, and no less fascinating than the best. We would be better Canadians if we knew a little more of these heirlooms of our country. The story of their recovery at the moment when they were falling into oblivion might also be heard with interest; for they have fallen into disuse and survive only in the memory of old people; and we might describe spiritedly our search for them in the Quebec country side, and our plans for their preservation for posterity in our national collections.

But this cannot be done here in the forty minutes at our disposal; there are four of us here, all full of our subject, all wanting to speak and sing together to you. And what is best after all is to give you illustrations in various forms. You will judge for yourselves. And you may supplement our very incomplete programme with whatever you still remember of our presentation of two years ago. It will be to my personal advantage . . . and yours. You will be able to resume your activities before the stock market falls down, and I will have no chance to bore you. Platitudes of speech will perforce be avoided, which a deep sense of respectability enforces upon speakers before large and distinguished clubs. Mr. Bédard and I will give several songs in turn, much as they are to be found in the country places of Quebec—songs in their natural state. Miss Florence Glenn, a young Toronto soprano, accompanied by Miss Gwendolyn Williams, will follow and show what can be done with these songs when they are offered to you by brilliant artists and interpreters.

Songs were most varied, comprising from the religious carol, the "complainte" and the ballad, down to the ordinary work song and dance.

I will begin with a religious song, a miracle—the Miracle of Saint Nicolas or The King's Nursemaid, which must have originated on the frontier of Switzerland, centuries ago—where the saint is the revered patron. This song was recorded a few years ago among the Acadians of Prince Edward Island.

LA NOURRICE DU ROI.

Un miracle de Saint Nicolas, sung by Mr. Barbeau.

Ah, c'etait le nourrice, la nourrice du roi,
Un jour s'est endormie, l'enfant entre ses bras.
Dieu, aidez-moi! douce Vierge Marie, saint Nicolas!

Mais quand ell' s'y reveille, en cendre ell' le trouva;
Poussa un si grand cri que tout l'monde accoura.
Dieu, aidez-moi!

"Qu'avez-vous donc, nourrice, à fair' ce grand cri-la?
—Oh, ce n'est rien," dit-elle, "j'en ai brûle un drap."
Dieu, aidez-moi!

Elle entrouvre la porte, à la rivièr' s'en va.
Dans son chemin rencontre le grand saint Nicolas,
Dieu, aidez-moi!

"Où vas-tu donc, nourrice, avec ces hardes là?
—Je vais à la rivière, je vais laver mes draps.
Dieu, aidez-moi!

—Tu as menti, nourrice, te noyer tu t'en vas.
Retourne à la maison, l'enfant te tend les bras.
Dieu, aidez-moi!

Dans les bras de la Vierge tu le retrouveras,
Voilà les grands mirâcles que fait saint Nicolas."
Dieu, aidez-moi!

M. Bédard, a real folk singer, from Saint-Rémi, Quebec, will sing a dance song—Ce sont les filles de Saint-Rémi or the Ransomed petticoat.

The Ransomed Petticoat.

Translated from French by Edward Sapir.

A sutler's maids are fair and slim,
Ah! pretty girls and trim!

Sweet daughters to the tavern go
To drink a pint or so.

Eighty wine tankards daughters drink,
Five or six pints to a wink.

But oh! 'there's this to pay'.
Their faces went sad with Nay!

Oh! then we must have her petticoat
And necklace under her throat.

'Tis well her love came that way
Five hundred pounds to pay.

'Give back the maid her petticoat,
And the necklace under her throat!'

Miss Florence Glenn and Miss Gwendolyn Williams will now interpret another version of the same song with a piano setting of my own. And you will see how an old folk song appears in a new garb, that which artistic interpretation may invest upon it.

1

LE COTILLON RACHETE.

Ce sont les fill's d'un cantinier,
Telalillilai lilalala lai
Ce sont les fill's d'un cantinier; ah! qu'ell's sont jolies!
ah! qu'ell's sont jolies!
Oh! gai, ah ah!
Oh, qu'elles sont jolies!

2. Mais ell's s'en vont au cabaret, boire chopine.
3. Ell's ont bien bu quatre-cingt pots, cinq, six chopines.
4. Ell's ont mange quatre-vingt pains, cinq, ou six miches.
5. Ell's ont mange quatre-vingt veaux, cinq, six genisses.
6. Mais quand le temps vint de payer, bien triste mine!
7. "Otez-lui donc son cotillon, et sa coiffure."
8. Mais son amant, passant par là, tir' cinq cent livres.
9. "Remettez-lui cotillon et sa coiffure"
10. —"Nous n'irons plus au cabaret, boire chopine."

From this instance alone, it is evident that folk melodies, interesting though they are in the raw, can only gain by being transposed into the sphere of professional music. Before we call again on our delightful collaborators for other interpretations, Mr. Bédard and I will give you more illustrations of folk songs as you may hear them by the hundreds in the country places of Quebec, particularly those that have been least affected by industrial development.

Love songs count among the most numerous in the traditional repertory of French Canada. It cannot be denied that romance and galantry must have been a rich feature in the life of many of our ancestors. Among the outstanding love songs we find the nightingale songs and the aubades and nocturnes, in which the lover, who is also the singer, gives a message of love for his sweetheart to a bird, the nightingale or the lark; in the aubades, the galant sings at his beloved's castle window at daybreak; in the nocturnes, late at night. All kinds of plots and situations are so contrived as to suit romantic fancy.

O Woodland Nightingale.
Rossignolet Sauvage.

(Translated from the French by J. Murray Gibbon.)

O woodland nightingale, O nightingale, you rover,
Your tongue to me discover, discover how to tell,
Tell to me all the secret one should know to love well.

The secret to love well I am about to tell you,
To love a shepherd maiden you should this tale repeat,
Telling her: "Dear, my fair one, for you to love is meet.

"For you to love is meet a swain to cull the roses,
The roses that so gaily within your garden bloom.
Let me for them, my fair one, again tomorrow come.

"No, I do not permit the culling of my roses,
Unless one brings the moonlight and in his hand the sun.
Take it from me, young hero, and on your road be gone."

"In what way would you then expect me to convey them?
The sun too bright is burning, the moon too high above.
Do be more kindly humour'd and take me for your love."

In the leisurely days of old, folk songs and tales provided a favourable pastime for all, high or low, on land and on the sea, under the open sky and by the fireside in the long winter evenings. Songs were not all of uniform gravity; they were not all to remind the listeners of pious duties, historical events, or to grace romantic fancies. But even as life is made up of shifting hours of work, rest joy, love and feast, so the familiar melodies chimed in the panorama of an endlessly changing existence in the peaceful countryside, in crowded thoroughfares, or in the sophisticated boudoirs of the nobility. Work in the past was not a mere provider of necessities; it did not banish enjoyment out of life, as it often does nowadays. It was made more attractive by an artistic refinement and a playfulness unfamiliar to the present generations. Work songs of all kinds sustained the rhythm of the hand in toil, while the mind escaped on the wing of romance. Unable as we are fully to realize the importance of the work songs in the past, we may now wonder at their number, hundreds and hundreds left idle by the wayside, among the descendants of the country folk that once sought a new home in the woodlands of America.

Mr. Bédard and I will give two instances of work songs, the first of which is *M'en revenant de Chateauguay.* It is a very popular song in Canada, but it is known under a number of forms. One of these, beginning with the words,

Dans mon chemin j'ai rencontre
Deux cavaliers très bien montes. . . .

was a favourite paddling song early in the last century. Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, heard his canoemen sing it repeatedly, when he travelled down the Saint-Lawrence, in 1803, from Kingston to Montreal. He wrote in his memoirs that the simple air he had heard gave him a pleasure which the finest compositions of the first masters had never given him. He harmonized the air and composed new words, which are known to us as his "Canadian Boat Song".

M'EN REVENANT DE CHATEAUGUAY.

Sung by Mr. Bédard.

M'en revenant de Chateauguay, (bis)
Dans mon chemin j'ai rencontre,

Refrain:

Ouo! Mon p'tit matour lourlour loure
Mon p'tit matour roulant roule.

Dans mon chemin j'ai rencontre (bis)
Trois cavaliers fort bien montes,

Deux à cheval et l'autre a pieds.
Celui d'â pieds m'a demande:

"Ou irons-nous ce soir coucher? . . . .
Dans la maison accoutumee.

Des beaux lits blancs sont prepares,
Des jolies fill's à nos côtes."

—"Tu as menti, franc cavalier.
Tu coucheras sous l'escalier;

Tu coucheras sous l'escalier,
Un quartier d'bois pour oreiller!"

DANS LES HAUBANS.

"In the top sails", a paddling song, sung by Mr. Barbeau.

LE NEZ DE MARTIN.

Martin's nose, a comic song, by Mr. Bédard.

Love, dance and drinking songs are plentiful in French Canada. Fertile must be the imagination of the present day song-writer who can discover avenues of thought and emotion that have not already been visited by his folk predecessors. Drinking songs, hardly less numerous than love ditties, must at one time have enjoyed universal favour, even though grapes were not grown along the Saint-Lawrence. Our modern prohibitive cravings and sense of propriety have not persisted long enough to bring a sense of shame upon our folk singers, who still go on full-throated eulogizing wine, love and general irresponsibility. Here is one that blends grim humour with a toper's matrimonial infelicity.

AU CABARET.

"At the tavern", sung by Mr. Barbeau.

Le lendemain que j'me suis marie,)bis
  Ma femme a voulu me battre.)

Au cabaret j'me suis en alle
  Trouer mes amis pour boire,

Trouver mes amis (ter)
Pour boire.

—"Mes chers amis, ne buvons pas tant,)bis
Car je vois venir ma femme.)

Elle est la-bas, elle est sur ces côtes.
Je l'entends dejà qui gronde,
Je l'entends dejà (ter)
qui gronde."

Bien promptement ell' vient au cabaret:)bis
"Sors d'ici, ivrogne du diable!")

—"Du cabaret ah oui! j'en sortirai
Quand j'aurai fini de boire,
Quand j'aurai fini (ter)
de boire."

—"Mon cher mari, ah! si tu continues (bis
Tu feras perir ta famille.

Un pied chausse, et puis, l'autre nu,
File à la maison, ivrogne!
File à la maison ((ter)
ivrogne!"

Our folk songs are undoubtedly interesting in themselves; they form part of our historical background, and they contain treasures of music and poetry for the appraisal of historians, musicians and critics. Yet what concerns us here far more is their value as materials for art, for musical inspiration. Other countries—Germany and Russia, for instance—have established their musical growth on their national folk songs and their lithurgical music. Why should we not likewise anticipate the growth of original music in Canada? Our Canadian folk songs—both French and Indian—are almost numberless. We have already more than nine thousand records of our songs in the National Museum, at Ottawa, three thousand of which are Indian. No country in the world, including Russia, seems to possess a hoard of songs as already available to musicians comparable to ours. Their quality and variety stands comparison with the best. Their rhythms and melodies are endlessly rich and complex. They may still conquer the day, with deserved and permanent recognition, inspire our musicians, poets and dramatists, and thus become the corner-stone of a true national school of music and art. Canadian music may be born some day, for we have musicians, and not a few composers. Skill and inspiration is abundantly their own, as soon as their pursuits are directed into creative channels. Many more students may discover their gifts and vitality, as some already have to our knowledge in the past few years. But they must find an outlet for their compositions and publishers for their works. Our Quebec festivals in the last two years have already produced remarkable results.

We are most sanguine in our anticipation that Canada some day, through the labours of her artists and writers, may acquire culture. For it is not enough to produce and export grain and minerals to be a cultured people. Nor is wealth at all essential. Wealth comes to a people and vanishes without leaving a trace but a pile of ashes and wreckage. This is all part of the rhythm of our modern civilization. But culture lasts for ever when expressed in beautiful works of art; it lives on, at least in the memory of humanity at large. Greece is still known to us to-day; her glory has not faded. It is not for the size of her population or the export value of her cereals. But because her poets expressed her soul in terms so memorable that it passed on to humanity as a most glorious part of itself. Canada will really begin to exist in the eyes of the world and posterity only when she awakens to the tremendous value of art and thought as a means of bringing her own soul into existence. Then she will become a nation. And then only. Our spiritual dependence or colonialism meanwhile will remain evident to all. The paint and feathers of our predecessors in the land will stick to us. We may hope in the future! Bright signs are already looming up east and west."

Miss Florence Glenn then sang four French Canadian folk songs accompanied at the piano by Miss Gwendolyn Williams.

The songs: Papillon tu es volage, tranhlated by Dr. Duncan Campbell Scott, and harmonized by Oscar O'Brien.

Le long de la mer polie, harmonized by Dr. Ernest MacMillan.

Blanche comme la neige (ballad) and Laliptitou (dance), harmonized by Marius Barbeau.

Hon. Chas. McCrea, Minister of Mines, voiced the thanks of the Club for the delightful entertainment, appreciation of which was shown by hearty applause at every stage.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AVIATION WITHIN THE EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. J. H. McBRIEN, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

14th March, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker, who said: Mr. President and members of the Empire Club, I thank you for your reception and for your invitation and hospitality. I enjoy under ordinary circumstances speaking upon the subject of aviation or transportation, and particularly is it pleasing when it appertains to the British Empire, and to-day I shall endeavour to outline some of the salient features of this development within the Empire.

We have reached the flying age. The air has not been conquered; for instance, a day like this practically defeats the airman unless he has all the modern appliances to assist and facilitate aerial navigation. There are not many countries in the world where these facilities have been fully developed yet, but we are enjoying a very rapid development in every branch of aviation throughout the whole of the Empire. Acceleration of travel means acceleration of business, and we all know that our economic and political growth and development depend upon transportation more than upon anything else. We have great problems of transportation in our own country with its vast distances, and it is also one of the great problems of the Empire, that is transportation. Communication, whether by land, sea or air, is vital to a far-flung Empire such as ours.

Let me touch upon the development of aviation generally, before treating it particularly, with respect to the Empire. Many people ask, what is commercial aviation, what is a commercial aeroplane? A commercial aeroplane is one which will pay, or can be supported economically or from a business point of view, in the air, that is, one that has a high enough pay load. Then they often ask another question, is a commercial aeroplane of any value from a military point of view? Every commercial aeroplane that is made to-day has a high potential military value. Every airport that is built, every airway that is organized, has a high military value. Therefore in 1923 and again in 1926 at the two Imperial Conferences in England, the subject of commercial aviation and the extension of imperial routes so as to link up the Empire, was a subject of paramount importance. We are now in the midst of this development, and great plans are being worked out to reduce the distances throughout the Empire. Various types of planes are being developed. There are the single engine planes, and the multiple-engined craft, some being built now with eight, ten, and twelve engines, with passenger accommodation in the wings. I think it is true as a general rule that the number of engines gives safety to travel, so we find that on the main routes of the world, where passengers are being carried, there is a transition from the single engine to the multiple-engined craft. Then we have the question of the air-cooled versus the water-cooled engines; and the internal combustion engine, where the charge is fired electrically, versus the Diesel type. We have a controversy between the biplane and the monoplane type, with the odds in favour of the monoplane for general commercial purposes. The biplane, from a military point of view, I think, probably has the advantage, it being possible to build it more strongly and to manoeuvre at high speed.

In this form of transportation naturally we attain great speed. Some few months ago an English pilot flew at the rate of 341 miles an hour. The official record is 318 miles, made at the Snider Cup race last year. At the Snider Cup race this year you will probably find that the speed will move up to about 400 miles an hour. Some designers say that within twenty-five years, if the present development holds, which it is likely to, there is no reason why we should not then be travelling at the rate of a thousand miles an hour. If so, you will be able to go around the world in a day, keeping with the sun the whole of the way. That speed of course is not as yet. The average commercial plane at the present time is travelling at the rate of about 125 miles an hour, that is, the cruising speed. The United States, as you know, was crossed by a commercial type of plane a few weeks ago in 18½ hours, at a speed of about 175 miles an hour. But that is not usual; the usual speed to-day of a commercial plane is about 125. But in any form of transportation, the racing speed of to-day becomes the commercial speed of to-morrow, so we shall soon be travelling in our commercial planes at a very high speed.

The development that I have referred to is partly illustrated by these maps I have here. We find that in the British Isles themselves the distances are so short, and the weather is usually so bad, that it is not favourable to the development of airways, and the railway system is good. Two routes are planned, one from the central part of England, London, up to Scotland, and from Liverpool over to Belfast, and from Southampton a route is now being organized over France to Basle, from Basle by train to a point on the Mediterranean, and from there flying boats will carry the passengers to Cairo in Egypt, and at Cairo or Alexandria they take the aeroplane along the present route that is operated twice weekly from Cairo out across Persia to Bagdad and Basra and on to Karachi in India. That is being organized now across India to Burma and down through the Straits Settlements to Australia. That is all to be an aeroplane and seaplane route. That is under organization and within two weeks you will be able to leave England and fly to India in about 4½ to 5 days, instead of at present seventeen days by boat. As you know, Hinckley flew from England over this route last year in 15½ days. The average mail ship takes six weeks from Australia to England; so that heavier than air craft, the aeroplane and seaplane will bring Australia within about eleven to twelve days on the regular route from England.

Along with the development of the heavier than air craft route to Australia there is another important spur under organization by the Cobham Blackburn Co., of which Sir Alan Cobham is the organizer, a route which has been flown several times now, by ladies as well as by other aviators, which is to connect United South Africa with the Motherland. You remember Cecil Rhodes hoped to unite the Cape to Cairo by railway. They will be united by air routes before the railway eventuates; in fact it is doubtful whether they will ever be connected by rail. The object behind this air development is chiefly to bring the gold from the Rand, from Johannesburg, to Europe in from three to four days instead of seventeen days as the mail boat takes now from the Cape. This route is under organization and the announcement was made a few days ago that the route would be taken over by the Imperial Airways.

In England the airways are developed by one single company which has a monopoly and has a rather heavy government subsidy, and the routes that you see marked in red on this map (showing) are being developed by the Imperial Airways under subsidy of the British Government.

Besides the route to the Cape they have great schemes afoot for the heavier-than-air craft. This year we shall see out in Canada one of the lighter-than-air craft, the Dirigible R100 or R101. It has been announced that it will be out this year and these lines (showing) are the routes to be followed. They come by the southern route to avoid the prevailing winds as much as possible, and they return by the northern route to take advantage of the wind. It is calculated that it will take two days to come out and 36 hours to go back to England. A mooring mast is built now ready for the airship at St. Hubert, south of Montreal. They plan also to connect South Africa, and there is a mooring mast being built at Ismailia, near Cairo, and another in South Africa, another at Karachi in India, and another in Australia. The airship is better suited for these long flights over water than the heavier than-air craft, the aeroplane or seaplane; therefore they plan a second series or system of routes joining the Empire together with the airships that are being built. They are of tremendous size, over 700 feet long, and 150 feet high, and carry a hundred passengers, in addition to about ten tons of mail. Australia will be eleven days from England by airship, India five, South Africa about four or five, and Canada two. So the Empire is getting smaller through the development of air transportation.

Running out to Paris and other points in other countries on the Continent, The Imperial Airways runs about 1,500 miles of airway daily, and with great regularity and practically no loss of life, because the routes are becoming organized, and that is where safety in flying comes in. In flying over organized routes, casualties are practically non-existent; in flying over unorganized country, casualties occur more frequently.

This development that might be called Imperial, or British, is being pushed forward very rapidly, chiefly for economic reasons, but behind it is the military reason, for we all know that routes would be very valuable should trouble ever occur again. The airship particularly is valuable for transporting squadrons of aeroplanes to any part of the Empire within a few days, should such assistance be needed.

The actual mileage of British routes fully organized compares unfavourably at the present time with many other countries. We might take two countries for comparison. First take Germany. Germany has had a remarkable development in commercial aviation. The Kaiser used to say that the future of Germany was upon the sea; now the German people believe the future of Germany is in the air, and I think perhaps they are right. Under the Versailles Treaty, Germany was prevented from developing military aircraft, and even for a time, she was prevented from building commercial aircraft; but from 1922 she has concentrated her whole scientific and aeronautical knowledge on commercial aircraft, with the result that she is leading the countries of Europe in commercial aviation. This may (showing) give you an idea of the routes that were organized and being operated in Germany about a year ago, and there has been a great increase since that time. Their planes fly about 40,000 miles a day over those routes, and the use of aircraft for the carrying of mails and passengers is very common. Wonderful airports are established, and accidents are most infrequent. Germany led the world in aviation, as to the number of miles, until just recently. She has about 16,000 miles of organized airways under operation, and she is assisting the Russians to develop the airways in that country; that is, her experts are working in Russia and they are developing the route right out to the Pacific. It is possible now to leave England and fly to Moscow, and south to the Caspian Sea, and into Persia right down to Teheran. Other routes have lately been connected and it is possible to fly right to the borders of Afghanistan. Very shortly the full route will be in operation across Asiatic Russia to the Pacific.

These lines (showing) show the development in Central Europe, and the lines running across the Mediterranean to the French and Italian possessions in North Africa. These lines as a rule belong to the French or Italian governments. All the countries of the world are pushing forward this development for both economic and military reasons. There is a great awakening in Spain, where they are appropriating large sums of money, when they are not busy with rebellions, to build airports and air harbors. They see that the routes to South America, particularly, all go over Spain. Several French companies and some of the German companies are planning routes that will cross Spain and on out to South America. Those developments are taking place very rapidly.

The other country I want to refer to is the United States. Their actual mileage has now gone up so fast that they are leading Germany. The last time I spoke to you, Germany was leading the world, but to-day the United States has 21,000 miles of airway under operation. Nearly half of those are lighted for night flying, and they are equipping them with the latest accessories for aerial nevigation, that is, wireless telegraphy and telephony and radio beams. In no branch of aviation have such strides been made just recently as in aerial navigation and it is only by such development that we can defeat such weather as we have to-day. Many of you know the system used by wireless in the war to detect the position of guns and the bursting of shells. That same system is being used now to give the pilots their position in the air. A better and more reliable system that is being developed is that of actually flying a plane on to the sound sent out by a radio beam. For instance if we had proper communication at the St. Hubert Airport to-day, and had our planes properly equipped, a pilot could take off from Toronto, go up into this fog, and fly his plane on to the sound, that is, on to the radio beacon that is sending out a constant call. Then, you say, how is he going to know when he is over St. Hubert? They are using successfully at Croyden and at places in the United States the magnetized cable, for distances running out in some places twenty-one miles, so that when the plane comes over the cable the electric magnetism lights up an instrument in the plane, and the pilot can tell how high he is from the airdrome. They put a complete circuit of this magnetized cable around the airport, it is of considerable circumference, so that the pilot will then know when he comes to the circle that the airport is down below. I was yesterday in conversation with one of Mr. Ford's engineers regarding that development in the United States. It is in this realm of aerial navigation to defeat fog and to defeat sleet and rain that we may expect the greatest advances in the near future.

On the 21,000 miles of airway in the United States, 17,000 are devoted chiefly to the carrying of mail, and in the last two months the volume of mail carried has gone up 400 per cent. Why has it bounded in that way? Well, there was a reduction of rates to five cents a letter to any part of the United States. The second reason is that the different systems have been connected up so that the whole country is really a network of airways now, and eighty per cent. of the population, anyway, have the benefit of this quick service, and they have the distances to make it worth while to send mail by air. It is not a fair test of what can be done in time saving to judge mail carrying by air over a distance of say three hundred miles. Such a route should be stretched out to several thousand miles to make a saving worth while, and it should be part of a system so that the whole country, particularly in populous parts of it, can benefit by this quick means of transportation of mail. As soon as one country becomes possessed of a quicker means of transportation of the elements of business, that is, men, money and materials, then their business men have an advantage over those of another country. Until such time as we get our system properly developed, the United States will enjoy a commercial and economic advantage over us. So let us work together in Canada to develop our airways, so that our business men will have an even chance with those to the south.

They have in the United States six hundred firms operating aircraft; they have a hundred firms manufacturing aircraft, and they have hundreds of thousands employed in the various professions and trades connected with the building and the operation of aircraft. There are fifty different professions and trades which are affected in some way or other, some of them created new, through the development of aviation. Aviation in the United States to-day ranks fifth as an investment industry. Several mergers and several amalgamations recently are capitalized, two of them at 150 million dollars each; so when you get into aviation you really get into big business. It is not a business for a small company with limited capital. It looks now very much as if throughout the whole world, and particularly in the

United States, aviation would develop into the hands of about six large companies, or perhaps twelve at the most. England, as I pointed out, has given a monopoly to the Imperial Airways. Germany has given a monopoly to the Luft Hansa. France has two or three large companies and a few smaller ones. The capital needed the experience needed, and the resources of every sort needed, seem to be bringing about the same sort of development as occurred in the motor transportation business.

In Canada we have fifty-two operating companies to-day, some of them small, very small, others growing and operating fleets of about thirty—I think Western Canada Airways has about 32 planes, and the company I have been connected with has a fleet of 42 planes to-day in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario. There are 330 planes said to be operating in Canada to-day, 246 of them commercial, and 87 government planes. To give you an idea of the increase that is taking place in our country, I may say that in 1920, 400,000 miles were flown by aircraft in Canada, while in 1928 the last report from the Defence Department places the figures at three million miles, which is a pretty healthy growth. (Applause.) We have under consideration in Canada, but not wholly completed yet, 44 airports, and it looks as if most of them would be situated in and around the city of Toronto. (Laughter.) We have sixteen Flying Clubs supported by the government, with 2,400 members, doing excellent work; and we have ten Flying Clubs under organization. A few years ago we had only 72 licensed pilots in Canada; to-day we have 189, and a great many more under training. Our air routes are not organized, it is true, but many of them in use are indicated by these lines. (Showing.) The only permanent route operated daily at present is that between Montreal and Toronto. In the summer time that is extended down to Father Point at Rimouski, and the incoming ships are met there and the mail transported to Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. Other services in the winter are from Moncton to the

Magdalen Islands, from Quebec down the river to Seven Islands, and other points on the St. Lawrence. In the west mails have been flown experimentally from Winnipeg to Calgary, and it is possible with a commercial plane travelling 125 miles an hour to get off a train at Winnipeg one morning, take the plane, and catch the preceding day's train at Calgary, or to spend a day in Winnipeg and then catch the same train you got off, at Edmonton or Calgary, saving a whole day in crossing the prairie. That, no doubt, will be put into regular operation across the prairies this year. In two or three years, no doubt, we shall have our own transcontinental route right across Canada by air all the way, and we shall have services into the various mining areas as they are being operated at the present time in northern Quebec and Ontario and Manitoba. It is in this field that part of our development in aviation is under way and is in a very satisfactory and healthy condition. Air routes are being opened, passengers are beginning to travel in quite large numbers; but there are two other fields of aviation in which I think Canada has done as well as any other country in the world. One is in the aerial survey. Last year the Dominion Government, and the Ontario Government, combined, together with the commercial companies, surveyed 53,000 square miles, and during the last three years about 150,000 square miles have been surveyed. Many districts such as the Red Lake district and Rouyn and the Patricia country, and Flin Flon and Sherritt-Gordon—the opening up of these mining areas has been materially expedited through the use of aircraft. There are several exploration companies now operating planes up to James Bay and Hudson Bay and up as far as Chesterfield Inlet prospecting, and that country will be developed from fifty to a hundred years earlier than would otherwise be possible, through the use of air transportation, because it takes in prospectors and miners and others into a country which they could not otherwise reach in a reasonable time. So we can look perhaps for the greatest good from aviation in Canada in the assistance it gives to the development of the northern country. It will give us greater depth from north to south, which we need.

On the manufacturing side, there are three manufacturing companies in Canada, compared to the hundred in the United States. No doubt the manufacturing end of it will grow with the demand of the operators. I think every thinking man will agree that commercial air transportation has a brilliant future in this country. We have these wonderful distances where we can make a great saving of time, and we have just about as fine a climate as there is in the world to fly in when you take the whole year round. I think you will agree too that this development of aviation is a vital factor in Canada as in other parts of the Empire. It is purely a business enterprise, but behind it there is this knowledge that it is an imperial asset for our aviation in Canada to be owned and operated by Canadians with Canadian capital. Because they are an asset from a military point of view surely we ought to be able to control our own airways and airports and manufacture our own planes. (Hear, hear.) Of course we have a wonderful neighbour to the south of us. In their wonderfully generous way they will do it for us. Mr. Keys, a very well known leader in aviation in the United States, in making a speech the other day before a railway gathering in his own country, said that he had cabled an offer to Great Britain to supply eight million dollars capital that was needed to help extend their airway that I described from England on out to different parts of the Empire, and he said that naturally the offer was refused because the British Government recognized that it was necessary for them to control their own airways. (Applause.)

I have not said much about the safety of air travel, but it really depends on one or two factors, how safe it is. A negro was asked if he would not like to become an aviator; he did not think so; they said, but, Sam, if you saw a headline across the paper, Courageous Sam, the Daredevil of the Air? No, he said, that does not sound good to me; I would much prefer to see Cautious Sam the Groundhog. (Laughter.) There are several factors that make for safety in passenger traffic, and those are: organized airways, good airports, emergency landing grounds, wireless communication, telegraphic and telephonic communication. It costs about $250 a mile to organize an air route and about $150 per mile per annum to keep it up. But think of that low cost compared with the cost of building a motor road or a railway line, and think of the flexibility of an airway; you can shift the equipment and the organization, all except the airports and the emergency landing fields, to another route without great expense. Then think of the time saved and the comfort of travel. But you must have the organized airway, you must have the best organization it is possible to have, and if you are going to carry passengers, I am in favour of the trimotors, or something above the trees. And then you must have the best personnel you can get, both your ground organization and your air personnel; and you must have a good meterological service. If you have not got this, you have not got organized airways, and I would not advise you to travel very much by air unless most of what I have mentioned are present. In the United States that development has advanced so far that they are now making arrangements to carry passengers all over the country, and the latest organization is the air-rail combination where the aviation companies have linked up with the railways. Two of these transcontinental routes are actually under organization, the Transcontinental Air Transport that Lindberg is connected with, and there is a second east-and-west, and there are two companies organized north-and-south in conjunction with the railways, not in opposition to them. You travel by day by air and travel by night on the train, crossing the United States in 48 hours. The mail planes mostly are single-engined, high speed craft, that cross that part of the continent in 31 hours, and that 95 per cent. regularly. Last month between Montreal and Toronto, over an unorganized route, the speed of 109 miles an hour was averaged, with 100 per cent. regularity. (Applause.) But on days like this, owing to the lack of organization, the planes have as a rule to sit on the ground, although they have gone through in very bad weather.

So let us work together to assist this organization throughout the whole of the Empire, whether it be by lighter-than-air craft or by heavier-than-air craft; we do not know yet which is the better. Mr. Ford made an announcement a couple of months ago that he has something in his mind or his workshops, and he says the country is going to be surprised soon with a combination of the lighter and the heavier than air craft. All I can think of is that he will have certain compartments in the wings filled with gas lighter than air under pressure, or in parts of the fuselage, so as to have less weight for the engine to carry, and that will perhaps give a higher pay load and greater speed. So we may have a combination of the two before long.

Then there will be great developments in the power, in types of engines, to give more power per pound weight. All these developments are under way and Canada must work hard to keep to the fore in this development, and I think that she will, for great interest is being evinced. (Applause.)

The thanks of the club to the speaker were tendered by General Bell .

PALESTINE TO-DAY

AN ADDRESS BY COLONEL FREDERICK H. KISCH, C.B.E., D.S.O.

19th March, 1929

MR. WILLIAM TYRRELL introduced the speaker, who said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I confess to a certain thrill when I rise to address you briefly to-day. I stepped out of the train this morning and for the first time set foot on Canadian soil. The nearest, but very intimate, contact with Canada which has fallen to my lot was that it was my privilege in 1915 to spend a short period attached to the Second Canadian Division. Unfortunately I did not serve in France with that division; I had been out, and was in England on light duty recovering from some rather trivial wounds, and I was attached to help in training the Second Canadian Division, a privilege which I am always very proud to remember. And I learn with pride and joy to-day from the Mayor of the City of the splendid example which was set by the city in regard to the care of its men on service and afterwards, and of its ex-service men. I hope you will forgive me this digression, as I wanted to express in just a word my feelings on this occasion, before I turn to the subject of Palestine. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I have been living in Jerusalem for six years and working in Palestine, but I must correct an impression you might get from the Chairman's introductory remark. Although I hope and believe that the work I am helping to do in Palestine, of which I will tell you something, is of service to the Empire, I am no longer in the British service. I am in Palestine as a Jew engaged in the task of establishing what we call the Jewish National Home in Palestine, under the auspices of the British Mandate. It will be impossible in the short time

I wish to occupy, to cover fully the picture of Palestine To-day, which was the title that was given to this address. But I will try to give you a few of the high lights and give you some indication of how the finished picture will be if our hopes are realized.

Perhaps I can introduce the subject well by quoting a phrase from my friend, Col. Wedgewood, who said "England has provided the picture frame, but the Jews are painting the picture". That is what is intended, what we are trying to do. When I say "We" I mean both Britain as mandatory goverenment and the Jewish people. I shall give you a word or two on the political background of this picture, which is necessary to understand it. Palestine administered by a British High Commissioner in the name of the Sovereign, on the basis of the mandate granted to Great Britain by the League of Nations, and that mandate charges the mandatory with establishing such social, political, and other conditions, as will facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home. In that spirit the mandatory government is administering the country. England found the country not only devastated by war, but devastated by false entries of Turkish misgovernment which produced a greater devastation than the actual military occupation and fighting to which Palestine was subjected. There was no development under the Turk, but such works as irrigation works, and water supply works which had been in existence as far back as Bible times, even before the Roman works, both those and the Roman works had been allowed to fall to ruin. It is in its nature a hard and difficult country; it needs attention and development. From the Turks Palestine received neither. Roads were few and bad; railways were limited to a narrow gauge line constructed by a French concessionaire from Jaffa to Jerusalem; harbours and ports there were none. Agriculture was conducted only by the most primitive methods, and there was nothing of industry. Banditry was prevalent, there was no law and order, and there was an almost universal regime of backsheesh and corruption wherever the Turkish official was to be found. And in a short space of time Great Britain has succeeded in establishing a regime of order, respect for security and justice, and at the same time that has helped and promoted the introduction of many of the amenities of civilization and progress. (Applause.) I do not believe any other power could have cleared away the corruption of the Turkish regime in so short a time, and what was done I attribute to that tradition of straightforward administration which is the heritage of the British Public Civil Service. (Hear, hear, and applause.) That is really the picture frame. The British have established a system of gendarmerie and have made possible the development of the country by its previous population and by a new Jewish immigrant population, which comes to Palestine from all countries of the world, and is of course controlled in accordance with the economic capacity of the country to absorb immigration. Before passing to Palestine itself I would like to say one word in regard to the importance of the British mandate from the British imperial point of view. That importance lies mainly in the geographical position of Palestine. Palestine is situated virtually where three continents meet, Europe, Asia and Africa. Palestine controls the approaches to the Suez Canal by land from the east. From that point of view, even before the Suez Canal the importance of Palestine was realized, and you all know that Napoleon sought from Egypt to conquer and occupy Palestine, that he took Jaffa, but was held up before the borders of Acre, and eventually abandoned his campaign. During the late war a Turkish army traversed Palestine and actually reached the Suez Canal in 1915, which is very recent and living evidence of the importance of Palestine to Great Britain. In connection with the development of air routes, Palestine also has great imperial significance. Air routes to Persia and India all touch in Palestine, lying as it does between the Mediterranean on the west and the Arabian Desert on the east.

While on this order of subjects I should mention that the construction of a harbour at Haifa is about to begin and this harbour will be connected by rail with Bagdad. The Haifa to Bagdad railway line has already been planned; it will not be constructed in the immediate future but it is one of the certainties of the years to come. It is also possible, but it is not more than a possibility, that there will finally be a pipe line from the oil fields to Haifa. In any case, the mere construction of the harbour at the terminus of these trade routes to Mesoptamia, Persia and India, will give Palestine a new important economic significance in connection with the imperial British position in the Mediterranean. Then in connection with the changed conditions in Egypt, whose independence, as you know, has been recognized, Palestine assumes an additional significance from the British point of view. I mention this, because although I as a Jew, and my co-religionists, all appreciate that generous act on the part of the British statesmen, which is known to the world as the Balfour Declaration, that recognition of the Jewish historical rights in Palestine, that pledge to assist in the revival of Jewish rights in Palestine, it is but right to recognize that in this cooperation between Great Britain and the Jewish people there is a common bond of mutual interest. That is generally recognized also by British statesmen.

I would like to pass now for a moment to the actual picture, as Jews see it. What is Zionism? Probably to many of you it is little more than a phrase, and I know that there are many in England, perhaps not here, who have a very false idea of what Zionism means. I have sometimes met people who thought it was in some way connected with Bolshevism. Zionism is of course essentially a nationalist movement; it is by no means internationalist. Zionism is essentially constructive, the antithesis of destruction. Zionism is essentially an ideal. Zionism preaches and pleads that apart from the contribution which Jews can bring to whatever country they live in as citizens, the Jewish people as a race have some special characteristic Jewish contribution to give to the world,—that contribution, which at its height, in its most inspired form, took the shape of the Bible and of the ethical ideas which are founded on it. We Zionists believe that the world has lost from the fact that through the destruction of the temple nearly two thousand years ago there has been no centre where Jewish life could develop freely, so that the Jewish spirit could find its natural growth. That is what Zionism is trying to create to-day in Palestine. Only in Palestine, the traditional homeland of the ancient Hebraic people, is it possible to re-establish this national Jewish life. And progress—I think remarkable progress—has been made with the painting of this picture. There are to-day in Palestine some 150,000 Jews, where there were only 65,000 at the time of the Armistice. Of those 150,000 Jews, 30,000, about half of the newcomers, are engaged solely in agricultural pursuits, which is a somewhat new phenomenon for Jewish life. And our farmers in Palestine are successful, imbued by an almost physical passion for the soil. That you will appreciate if you know that it is a tradition and practice of Jewish othodox life that a handful of Palestinian earth should be buried with the Jew in his coffin; so living has remained this attachment to the soil of Palestine.

Side by side with the development of agricultural life, goes a development of new social forms. We have what I might describe as an intellectual proletariat. A good many of our agricultural workers are young men and women who have received a higher education in colleges and universities in these countries of eastern Europe from which they come. In Palestine they are content to devote themselves to the manual labour of agricultural work, and they find their intellectual outlet in new social forms. I hope and believe that perhaps in the domain of sociology Palestine will make some real and valuable contribution to the world within a measurable distance of time. We have established agricultural schools in the country for boys and girls, and we also send over a good many of our young people to study in California, where the climate is almost identical with that of Palestine.

And with the development of agriculture, we are also developing industries, in the first instance those industries that are based on Palestine's agricultural products, the olive and almonds, and other products which can be turned to the purposes of industry. Also industries useful in the building up of the country, such as the manufacture of cement, which was formerly all imported, and which is now all manufactured locally in Palestine under Jewish initiative. The development of the harbour will greatly facilitate the industries of the country. Up to now it has cost as much to land a cargo of coal from the ship to the quay in Haifa, as to bring that coal from Wales to Haifa. We have also suffered from the fact that we have no fuels in the country, and to-day we are harnessing the Jordan for electrical energy. A dam has been thrown across the Jordan just below where it runs out of the Sea of Galilee. The Sea of Galilee, which will remain untouched and unspoiled, will act as a natural storage reservoir for this hydro-electric station. In a short time electrical energy from the Jordan will be available throughout the country.

The orange is the chief product of our agricultural life. We exported last year over two million cases of oranges, and with the new groves that have been planted we expect to be exporting five million cases in five years. With regard to the population which the country will ultimately support, it is difficult to tell you anything definite, but we know that in Roman times the country did support a population of some two to three millions. To-day the total population is under one million, so there is ample room for Jewish immigration for a considerable time to come.

Then I should say a word or two about the Arabs. It is sometimes suggested that the idea of Zionism is to interfere with the Arabs of Palestine. In the first place I would say to that that the Arabs have shown neither the desire nor the ability to develop the Holy Land.

Their production in the field of agriculture was just enough for their own minimum needs. The country went steadily back. I think it is generally recognized that the world is too small to justify a country being left in an undeveloped and deteriorated condition if there is a people ready to develop it. In this case, also, we are dealing with a people that has come from this ancient land. I was once asked by one of the Arab leaders, the king who formerly ruled in Mecca, how he, an Arab, should be expected to accept the Balfour Declaration. I will give you my reply, which explains something of the historical background of Zionism. I told him I thought even he as an Arab leader would accept it, that the Balfour Declaration was merely the recognition of certain historical facts. The first fact was that the Jews were once the people of Palestine; the second fact was that the Jews were driven from Palestine by might, by the Roman Empire. The third fact was that the Jews throughout the two thousand years during which they have been scattered throughout the world, have retained a love and a race-consciousness for this Palestine. And the fourth fact was that what the Jews have given to the world comes from this very connection with this land. (Applause.) It goes without saying that in everything we do we are most careful to respect all other peoples and all other faiths that are living and practising in Palestine. (Applause.) We ourselves took the initiative at the time the mandate was being inaugurated in moving the League of Nations to arrange that the mandate should include a special provision by which a Commission, entirely independent of the government and of the local population, should be charged with the custody of the holy places. Unfortunately, owing to internal reasons between the various authorities and churches concerned, that Commission has never yet been set up. We Jews would very much welcome such a Commission. I feel at any rate it has come to be generally recognized that Zionism in Palestime makes for the pacification and development of the country. It is very interesting to compare conditions in Palestine and in Syria. In Palestine there is very little garrisoning; the British have found it possible to remove all regular troops, other than a few aircraft units and armoured cars. There is no single unit of infantry or cavalry or artillery in the country. In Syria the French have come to recognize that while this is partly due to the methods of the British administration, it is very largely due to the fact that Zionism makes for pacification. We can colonize a country only where there is peace, and that means that everybody should be happy and content. The Arabs have come to see that the Jews have come to Palestine not to exploit the country but to develop it for the benefit of all its inhabitants.

I would like to conclude with a word or two about the Jewish cultural revival in Palestine. Hebrew, the same Hebrew as that of the Old Testament, has become the current language among the Jews of Palestine. There are three daily papers, all in Hebrew. No other papers are published by the Jewish community in Palestine, except in Hebrew. There are monthly reviews on such subjects as art, and jurisprudence and health, and other technical matters. We have a complete system of Hebrew schools from the kindergarten to the University, which was founded on Mount Scopus and opened by Lord Balfour in 1925. A most wonderful site, that site of the University or Mount Scopus! One looks down, facing east, to the Jordan and over to the mountains of Moab, and facing west one looks over the ancient city of Jerusalem with its ancient walls. I hope, and we Jews all hope, that from this seat of Hebraic learning on Moriah, we will be enabled to make some fresh contribution to general progress.

I would like to tell you about a rather remarkable archaelogical find which occurred just before I left Palestine. Some of our people were excavating in one of the new Jewish agricultural colonies near Bezan. It is at the foot of Mount Gilboa where Saul fought his last battle and met his death, close to Bezan where his body and that of Jonathan were taken. There, in what was a wilderness when we went there a few years ago, we planted a few Jewish agricultural settlements, and making there an irrigation canal, came across a tesselated pavement which disclosed a circle with the signs of the Zodiac, and the names in Hebrew characters, and this was identified as the floor of an ancient synagogue of the third or fourth century of the Christian era, showing that where this Jewish life is being restored, was the centre of normal Jewish life fifteen centuries ago.

That perhaps will give you some idea of this picture which the Jews are painting in Palestine, while Great Britain is holding the picture frame. We hope and believe that it is our destiny to complete the painting of this picture. Speaking as a Jew, we are grateful to the British people that have made possible this task which we are undertaking, and we hope that in aiming at the destiny to be realized in Palestine, mankind at large will also benefit therefrom. (Applause.)

The thanks of the Club were tendered to the speaker by Canon Cody .

THE IMPERIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GAMES

An Address by REV. DR. J. R. P. SCLATER, Toronto

28th March, 1929

[Before the speaker was called upon, the members of the Club, at the suggestion of President Eayrs, stood a moment in silence, to honour the memory of the late Marshal Foch.]

Dr. Sclater was introduced by the Chairman and spoke as follows: First let me thank you very cordially for your kindness in inviting me to the honour and privilege of addressing you to-day. I have a singularly soft spot in my heart for the Empire Club, for it was in your kind and generous society that I first became acquainted with the public life of this city; and consequently as I now return into your comradeship I come with a very grateful feeling. It is with that memory, the memory of your generosity and kindness to me that I venture to address you to-day on the subject which our Chairman has announced.

It is, you might say, a somewhat slight subject, but nevertheless I think that it has for all of us its own importance, and at any rate I think that it is desirable that we who rejoice to live in Canada should have it in our minds and give to it due consideration, in order that Canada may claim and possess to the full that splendid and predominant position in the Empire which is hers alike by right of geography and the character and timbre of her people. But first allow me to make a word or two of personal apology. I can well imagine some one saying to me, What do you, a mere minister, know about games? What is this Saul doing among the sporting prophets? Ministers anyway are a kind of third sex and they are not the sort of person who ought to have opinions on things that are robust and masculine. Well, by way of reply to that I should like to suggest two considerations. First this, that although I am broadbacked and fallen in the vale of years, the time was, sir, when I played games myself. (Hear,hear.) For about ten years I lived and breathed for cricket; for four years I toiled like a galley slave at the end of an oar on that muddy and winding river that is called the Cat. (Applause.) And then when one came to that inevitable time when the advancement of years, and possibly some slight development of girth made active participation in that kind of activity, if not impossible, at any rate inconvenient, for ten years I coached the Edinburgh boat as part of my pastoral duties—(laughter and applause)—which, after all, is not such a bad record for a parson. (Hear, hear.) In the second place, we are reminded by the great Roman that anything that pertains to humanity should not be foreign to our interests, and I think that if that is true of any man it is true of a man whose business is at least as much with human nature as it is with divinity. And for these two reasons I hold myself to be acquitted from any charge in addressing you upon this subject to-day.

Certainly I think you will agree that interest in games, and anxiety concerning the sporting spirit is very deep-seated, and indeed inherent in human nature. I have been told upon authority which I regard as credible, that you find something of the same attitude of mind even in those creations which we are inclined to describe as the lower creatures. One of the most truthful sections of the community with which I have ever come in contact is that splendid section who guard sheep. Few men in this world are wiser and more just in their judgments than shepherds, and a shepherd told me that twice in his life he had seen sheep in a solitary part of the lowlands of Scotland playing what was approximately Sir Roger de Coverley. (Laughter) He had seen them ranged in two rows, and a sheep from the top end detach itself and dance down between the middle of the two rows of its relatives and friends, being butted as it proceeded, until it reached the lower end where it took its place and proceeded to but the next comer. It may be that that sounds more like a fish story than a sheep story, but as I say shepherds are singularly truthful people. At any rate, whether the interest in games goes quite so far back in our ancestry as that, or not, I take it that we admit that we have a deep interest therein. I acknowledge for myself that I have gone out in inclement weather during these past months to obtain the earliest possible edition of a paper which would tell one about the test matches in Australia. (Applause.) And I further admit that last Saturday morning I interrupted the construction of a sermon to ring up one of the evening papers of this city in order to find whether or not that which one hoped for had happened in the annual aquatic test with Oxford. (Applause.) And whether it may be true or no that some here present have begun to forget the more vivid and strenuous activities of their youth, at any rate I take it that it is true that they are remembering some other activities to which they have become attached in later years. Looking around on this gathering, Sir, it is perfectly obvious that everybody here is very prosperous, that this is a club composed of heads of departments, men who have the control of their own time, and I take it that some times they have mishandled the words of the poet and have spoken to themselves somewhat after this manner:

> Breathes there a man with soul so dead
> As never to himself hath said,
> I'm sick of working for my bread,
> I'll go and play at golf instead.
>
> (Applause and laughter.)

So I take it that we are all agreed that there is a deep-seated enthusiasm for some kind of alleged athletic activity in the hearts of all of us, and that we look upon this as a matter which should be regarded with due seriousness.

Now when we find something in which people of all ages and different climates are so deeply interested, when we find the amount of time and attention which is given to it, it suggests to us surely that there is herein something which can be used in the spiritual realm for the binding and gathering together of people of different climes and different outlooks. We may find in it one of those silken bonds of which we hear so much, and which we describe as being superior in their strength to other kinds of bonds which appear on the surface to be more vital and more mighty.

There are, I think, three great political problems which stand out as superior in their importance to all the other problems which can attach themselves to our minds. In the first place there is the question of the increasing development of unity of a pacific British Empire. In the second place there is the development of a completer understanding and sympathy between that Empire and the United States of America. And in the third place there is the creation of a right atmosphere between all the signatories to the League of Nations. And I hold that in regard to all these three imperious demands of our time, it is the development and the strengthening of the silken bonds that is of the chief importance. We do not need to go very far to discover how extraordinarily strong, how unimaginably strong are these said incalculable bonds, the bonds created by imponderable things. Take for instance an illustration from a completely different region; take an illustration from the ecclesiastical life of our time. One of the facts which impresses itself on the mind of a minister of another communion is the extraordinary solidarity and continuousness in movement and in outlook of that great and splendid communion whose history is inwrought with so much that is best in the history of our people, I mean the Church of England. One does wonder sometimes how it is that a church which is a comprehensive church, holding within its communion men of extraordinarily diverse views, retains itself in the unity in which it is retained. And I take it that one cause for that—no doubt there are many others—is a common loyalty to, and love of the Book of Common Prayer. There you have one of those imponderable silken bonds. We all know perfectly well that that which binds us together ultimately in one world-wide empire is a thing that is as imponderable as silk; it is the fact of a British crown, the common love and loyalty that we have thereto. (Applause.) And we can thank God that that bond is a bond that is strengthening every day, is one that was never mightier than it is this minute, when we all owe allegiance to that splendid, simple, brave English gentleman for whose health and well-being we all sincerely pray. (Applause.) And we can rejoice also that we may believe that the bond will not be lessened, in our time at any rate, for when it shall please God to take His Majesty to Himself we may still believe, as we surely hope, the Prince Charming will hold us together in an allegiance no less strong, in a loyalty no less sincere. (Applause.) There can be no question, whatever, Mr. President and Gentlemen, about the strength of these imponderable uniters; and when we find that they are so strong it is surely a wise thing for all of us to endeavour that any other uniters of the kind shall be discovered, and when discovered, developed.

My point to-day is that in our common love of games, and in our attitude to them when we play them, we have one of these uniting forces, and that of the strongest kind. Now observe that the real uniting force is not in the game itself but in the mental attitude which the game produces, although, indeed, the game is singularly important as being the channel by which that spiritual unity is enabled to be established, and to move from one people to another. But ultimately it is the mental attitude which is produced by a game, which is the real uniting force. Now the mental attitude which we of the British Commonwealth of Nations possess is one of which I think we may be rightly and reasonably proud, and about which we do not in the least need to be modest. I think perhaps the very greatest compliment that was ever paid to Britain was paid by a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford. He was asked what it was in that University that chiefly impressed him, and he said, what chiefly impresses me is that here there are three thousand young men who would rather lose a game than win it unfairly. (Applause.) Along with that splendid attitude toward the way in which games should be played, there go certain other attitudes which make up a total complex of a very fine kind.

In the first place, we would rather lose a game than win it unfairly. In the second place, we would rather have respect to the spirit of the law than to its letter, in playing the games. In the third place, we would exact from ourselves and all associated with us a spirit of absolute obedience to the authorities set over us for the moment, never for a moment questioning the umpire. In the fourth place we would, so to speak, play the ball where it lies—an entirely admirable attitude to have in respect to all life's difficulties. In the fifth place we would desire to be among that company who, having started either in a race or a game, go on if we can till we drop dead. (Applause) In the sixth place we would hope that that spirit would be developed amongst us which is not so very greatly concerned for itself, so long as the side on which we are is successful. (Applause.) And in the seventh place, and this is not quite so obvious, but I believe it to be true of the attitude which is finally summed up in the words "the attitude of a sportsman", we would, when occasion arises, make it perfectly manifest that games are games and that they are second to duty. I do not know, sir, whether our people throughout the world have realized the significance of the example which has been set us by one young gentleman in the empire recently on that very point. I do not suppose there is a more complete sportsman than the Prince of Wales; I do not suppose there is anyone who loves playing games for their own sake more than he does, and yet because of the sickness that has fallen upon the King, new responsibilities having thereby been laid upon him, he has taken farewell of his horses, said good-bye to some of his faithful friends—(Applause)—and there seems to be an epitome of the spirit which we desire to develop—doing all things joyously and gladly when they can be done, but realizing that at the end of the day these things are games, and that life contains something that is more clamant and more serious.

Now when we find a spirit like that, it is surely a very desirable thing, both for ourselves and for the world, that that spirit should be above all things prized, retained, and developed, and that we should use it for the binding of races together in a common brotherhood. Obviously it can so bind. Clearly it creates a common mental temper in which the great problems of business or professional or political life can be faced. When you get that attitude of mind common amongst the statesmen of the world, I should imagine that some of the difficulties which arise would be found at least to be soluble. It gives the people a common spiritual platform, and it enables them to speak also in a kind of spiritual shorthand, so that immediately, whatever words they may use, they may understand the significance that is behind. I could give you instance after instance of the extraordinary effect of that spirit, and of interest in the games through which it is expressed in solving different public difficulties, in helping not only individuals but indeed a nation through difficult times. We all remember that very trying moment a few years ago in British history when under the threat of the general strike it looked as if we were to cease broadening down slowly from precedent to precedent, and take one of those violent movements to one side or to another which are fraught with so much peril for any nation who undertakes them. In the very middle of that strike it so happened that the Australians were over as a test cricket team and were engaged to play at Nottingham against England in a test match. It was discovered that there was not sufficient accommodation at the Trent Bridge ground for the crowds that were likely to attend, and by common consent on both sides, the strike was called off, and men worked fourteen hours a day to get that stand up for the test match. (Applause.) Unfortunately I believe that, with a fashion which is very unusual I may say, in England, it began to rain about an hour after the first ball was bowled, and there was no further cricket for the whole three days. However, the previous spirit had been displayed around the common interest of a test, and bitterness had disappeared.

I think it was Mr. C. E. Montague, that great English journalist and writer, whose passing was so great a loss to English letters recently, who said that if anybody proposed a revolution in England, he would have very carefully to time it. He could not possibly time it for the Derby, and above all he could not time it anywhere in the region when there was going to be played the final of the Association Football Cup ties. At these times the English people would be far too concerned with more serious things to bother themselves with a little thing like a revolution. (Applause.)

To take a wider illustration, I heard one with my own ears and saw it with my own eyes in the year 1925 in Edinburgh. Now in Edinburgh there are some very attractive people—(laughter)—there are even some intelligent people—(laughter)—but there are some people who have not yet completed their education because there are a few people there that have not visited this side of the water. I happened one night to be in the society of several of these at a private dinner in a private house, and in the course of conversation they were asking me about Canada, and I was telling them—and I hope that your ears tingled with all the eulogistic things that one would say. And then I went on to talk of the United States of America, and the atmosphere changed; it became chilly and aloof; in a moment my hostess with that social alertness for which hostesses are distinguished, changed the subject to the weather or some suitable subject for discussion according to general repute in the land of Scotland. I could not get them to listen when I told them how charming and delightful and like ourselves the young Americans were, how delightful it was to go into the intellectual atmosphere of a University like Harvard, what it means to meet these splendid, cultured, understanding people. They simply would not listen.

And then a few days passed. A gentleman of the name of Bobbie Jones of Atlanta landed on British shores. He came up to St. Andrews; he I believe was not well so had been at least somewhat off his game. He came to St. Andrews and gave the Britishers a shot at him to see if they could wrest back from him the British open championship. You remember what happened. He had the positive impiety to go around the old classic course of St. Andrews under 70, a thing which is regarded as either miraculous or profane—(laughter)—by everybody who has ever played upon that course. He won the championship, I think, by seven strokes. What is more, be played all through with an entirely British phlegm, to prove that he was human, if all tales are true, by going into the Clubhouse after going around in 285 strokes, and was there violently sick from nervousness. That endeared him to the British people. He thereafter made a most delightful, charming, modest, and disarming speech, and did a thing which showed him to be possessed of diplomatic qualities of the highest order. They had made him a member of the Royal and Ancient Club at St. Andrews, and he handed the cup which he had won into the keeping of the Royal and Ancient, and thereby made his victory technically a Scottish one. (Laughter.)

A few days after that I was in the same house again to dinner, and we had hardly sat down when they said, Look here, what was that you were saying about the Americans the other day; they seem to be very decent chaps.

I say All hail to these athletic ambassadors; may their mashie shots lie stone dead, but may they live forever. (Hear, hear and applause.)

There are illustrations, gentlemen, of what can be done by the intercourse of people who talk the same sportsmanly shorthand, who have the same instinct and accent in the mind. And what we need to do, I think, is to see to it that the intercourse between men of that kind, as between different peoples, and most of all as between the peoples of the Empire, is increased and developed, to the highest possible degree. The moment a member of one people becomes an athletic household word amongst the members of another people, then something of unity has been forged between them. I do not think that we here in Canada can exaggerate the influence that has been exerted by such a young gentleman as Percy Williams of Vancouver—(Hear, hear and applause)—or by those two admirable sportsmen sitting with oars in their hands and making boats go speedily, Messrs. Guest and Wright of Toronto. (Applause.) But when you look at the whole field more largely, allowing the influence that these admirable young men have had, I as a Canadian citizen, with a genuine admiration and love for Canada, begin to ask myself one or two questions. I notice for instance that this silken bond is raised to its height in respect to Australia. Australia sends over its teams to play us at cricket, and thank goodness we have beaten them at last, because we have had an awful time with them for years. They send over teams to play with us at Rugby football. New Zealand does the same, with the emphasis on the football. The New Zealander is the most courageous natural Rugby football player that I have ever seen. South Africa, composed in part not of men of our own direct lineage, does the same thing. They are coming over next year, the South African cricketers; and the South African footballers also are amongst the most distinguished and powerful that you could imagine upon any field. I remember in 1911 or 1912 watching the then South African team playing against Scotland and beating it, and observing Mr. Douglas Murrell, their fullback, take a place kick from 25. It is the only time I have seen in all my life a football take exactly the same curve as a golf ball. The thing went as if shot from a cannon. The West Indies play cricket, and there is a British team that has been touring there in the last few years. And even India itself has its raquet. Now thereby unquestionably an attachment and an intimacy is created between these Dominions and the Homeland and these Dominions and each other, which is of the greatest possible value for the Empire as a whole. There will not be a small boy in Britain this summer who will not be a great deal more familiar with the doings of Mr. A. Jackson who made a century in his first test when he was nineteen, and Mr. Don Bradman, (?) who has made a century also in one of his early tests when he was twenty, a great deal better than he will know the name of Shakespeare and all his doings. (Laughter.) And once the athletic heroes of one people become the athletic heroes of other people, then obviously there is a strong bond. To this day I feel inclined to take off my hat when I hear the name of Spofford, (?) the most terrible bowler that ever bowled; he was an Australian.

One looking at those facts says that there is a certain advantage gained by those peoples in the earth who thus interchange continually activities of that sort. You can imagine what men like that, coming and visiting the Old Land, are worth for instance in the matter of migration. They are extraordinarily popular; their names become, as I say, household words, their doings are read every day and dreamed of by quite middle-aged men every night. They are worth endless posters, they are worth endless advertisements; they are the best kind of immigration material that has yet been discovered or developed. (Hear, hear and applause.) And one is anxious that this great people shall be in the same position of power, the same position of attracting to itself the best, as these others are by this situation. Is anybody going to maintain for one moment that the peoples of New Zealand, or Australia, or the West Indies, are superior in athletic prowess of their young men to those of Canada? Nobody is going to allow that for one second. Is one going to admit that there is an attractiveness and sportsmanship about them that there is not to be found here? One is not going to admit that for one second. But what one is anxious to see is that the peoples of the other united nations of the Empire shall be as aware of the sportsmanship, splendor, and dignity of Canada, as they are aware of that splendor and dignity amongst themselves.

So one comes now to one or two practical suggestions. In the first place, I understand that next year or the year after, under the guiding influence of Lord Desborough, there is to be brought into being an Empire version of the Olympic Games; and the place that has been selected for these games is Canada. (Hear, hear.) The actual village to which they are going is known as Hamilton. (Laughter.) I think it is very greatly to the credit of our friends that they are going there, and one looks forward to that as the beginning of a series of these intra-imperial tests, whereby the strenuousness and excellence of our young men will vie with each other, and in which, I have not the faintest possible doubt that Mr. Percy Williams and Messrs. Guest and Wright and their successors will see to it that a due percentage of the awards comes to the athletes of this Dominion. At the same time, an enterprise of that kind, excellent as it is, is not quite so useful, I think, in forging the bonds of Empire as it would be if there were created amongst us a system of continual and steady visits, wherein one portion of the Empire vied with another portion, singly or perhaps two or three together, on the old classic grounds of the Old Country. It is a continuous visiting that helps. It is moving about among the people that helps; it is getting near each other in the intimacies of the relaxed hours as well as in the more strenuous intimacies of the athletic field; it is that that greatly helps.

Secondly I would greatly like to see some steps taken whereby in some form or another of athletic activity Canada shall vie herself against the prowess, especially of the Old Country, but also of the other Dominions. Now how can that be secured? Well, you will allow me to say perhaps just this, that one always rejoices when one sees in this great country the development of British games. After all, the common spirit which we desire, must be interpreted through common games if we are to understand each other. I am not in the least inclined to be controversial, or to bring up any kind of vexed topics, but I say this, our country is big enough to play all sorts of games, and you are doing no harm either to Canada or to the Empire, or to the world, if purely British games played in British ways are developed amongst our people. (Hear, hear.) In the second place, is it not possible for Canada to put more emphasis upon her own supreme contribution to the games of the world? I know quite well that there is intercourse between the curlers and the bowlers and so on of the two countries. Curling is a very noble sport. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to see there is one curler present here. (Laughter.) It is the only purely democratic sport in the world. (Cries of Oh, Oh.) Well, shall I say it is the most purely democratic sport? At any rate, it is the only game that ever I heard of, in which authentically it is stated that a gardener addressed a Duke in these words. It is to be understood that the word "soop" in curling means sweep, and that the word "sumpf" in Scotch means fool. It is the only game in which it is authentically alleged that a gardener spoke to his own Duke, who employed him, in these words, "Soop her up, ye muckle sumf." Laughter.) If that is not democracy, what is? But at the same time, curling, and still more bowling, do not possess in them that element of violent risk that is associated with other forms; and bowling is perhaps the particular possession of gentlemen whose girth makes it a little difficult for them to come far enough forward to make a suitable bow in a rowing eight, and therefore they have not that general popular appeal that some other games have.

But Canada has produced two games that are the games of youth, which are an inestimable contribution to the athletic activities of the world. The first of these is ice hockey, the most beautiful game I have ever seen in all my life—(Applause.)—the fastest and most skilful. But it is not an Empire-binding force. Why? Because the Canadians are far too good. It is no earthly use trying to play against them. Even the most gallant of Britishers, engineering to stem the wave of some Canadian on skates, feels for about the first time in his life what it is like to be a furry rabbit. Seeing the preponderance of Canadian skill, it cannot be a uniting force. But lacrosse can be. (Applause.) I rejoice to see among the distinguished gentlemen immediately in front of this platform, one of the greatest exponents of that lovely game. It is a very great delight to see Dr. Hughes beginning to get the light of ancient battle in his eye; in a moment I expect we shall see him clutching an egg spoon, running around this hall, and scoring a goal at that end. He can take pride in being one of those who have developed a game which, so far as I know, is the only external game which has fairly rooted itself upon British soil. And I think it is the utmost pity that the charming game which contains within it the qualities that a game ought to have, is not still the first pride of the young Canadian athlete. (Hear, hear.) I think that steps might be taken to re-establish it as the Empire game, through which, of all games, men can display the true sporting spirit. Why should not Canadian teams be back over there on the other side? Why should not they be defeating such English teams as there are, and there are a lot of them? Why shouldn't they play against Cambridge, and beat Cambridge, and why shouldn't they play against Oxford, and beat Oxford? I may say that Oxford won lacrosse this year; I am glad to be able to mention that interesting fact. Lacrosse is a game which is Canada's own, and which might continue to be Canada's splendid product.

Beyond that, it seems to me that there are steps that might be taken almost immediately. Associaion football is still the game of the vast majority of the young people of the other side. Unfortunately, from my point of view, there is too much professionalism about it. But amateur association is developing; many of the schools play it, and those who love the original form of football are concerned that it shall be re-established. Why shouldn't a Canadian team go across? Why shouldn't they, as young Canadian amateurs prove that they can play that game as well, and just a trifle better, than any set of amateurs on the other side? And until that can be done, why should not a few Canadian golfers regularly go and prove that there are incipient Bobby Joneses amongst us. I don't know whether you call golf really a game or not. Some people say that it is a religion. (Laughter.) But assuming that it is a game, at any rate it does attract a very considerable amount of popular appeal and interest, and one would like to see regularly some cup competitions between the Old Country and this country. I do not know that it would happen, but supposing that for a little while the Canadian team might be beaten, it could not possibly be beaten worse than the British team was in the Walker Cup this year, but in the end of the day it would do what the British team is going to do, namely, win.

Now it seems to me that along these lines there are suggestions that are practical. I am quite certain that the interpenetration of each other by the representatives of our best sporting traditions is going to do us the greatest possible amount of good. I have come, sir, to love Canada so much, and to regard its future with such certain hope, that I do not like to think even for a moment that in any particular Canada should be the lone sister amongst the imperial constellations. So let it be an interest for business men who can provide cups, and, what is more than cups, expenses; let it be even a matter for the benevolent interest of the government, that there shall be an interplay and intercourse of these best elements amongst all our peoples. Go over to the Old Country and beat them. Eat up England; intimidate Ireland; wallop Wales; sudbue Scotland, if you can. (Laughter.) At any rate, as the years pass, let us on this side of the water be more and more in the one great family, looking to the time when the young Canadian will win the crown of wild olive, that emblem of sweet honour and gray rest, that which is given as a reward and as a guerdon to gallant youth who stands dowered from the night and splendid for the day as the pride and hope of mankind. (Applause.)

The thanks of the Club were tendered to the speaker by Dr. Burns.

THE FUNCTION OF THE TORONTO INDUSTRIAL AND PUBLICITY COMMISSION

An Address by C. L. BURTON, President of the Commission.

4th April, 1929

The speaker was introduced by President Eayrs, and was received with applause. He spoke as follows: It was the late Senator Cox who, I believe, was responsible for the wise observation "what ought to be done can be done."

Our Mayor and Board of Contral, our City Council, The Toronto Board of Trade, our Harbour Commissioners and various public bodies and corporations and citizens have declared for a greater Industrial Toronto.

They have said the job of bringing new industries to this City should be done and we, the newly commissioned corporation—The Toronto Industrial and Publicity Commission, have agreed to undertake the task.

The Functions of the Commission:

The functions of this Commission are indicated by the charter provisions which empower us to take all proper steps from time to time to secure new industries for and aid industries in the City of Toronto and surrounding territory and generally to give publicity to the advantages of the said City of Toronto and its surrounding territory for business and manufacturing purposes.

This statement sets forth the purpose of this body and the aims which it has adopted.

EARLIER EFFORTS:

Before addressing myself to the policy, plans and objectives of the Commission, I thought to ask your indulgence so that I might for a few moments refer to some past activities, having generally the same objects in view as are to be prosecuted by this new body.

It is more than twenty years ago that the City appointed Joseph E. Thompson as Industrial Commissioner. The office was abolished after a short period as it seemingly could not weather the city political winds of the day.

For several years there was no organization whose duty it was to take care of the Industrial development of the city.

HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS:

The Toronto Harbour Commissioners were organized in 1911. Mr. E. L. Cousins being General Manager and Chief Engineer. In 1918 Mr. Cousins was appointed City Industrial Commissioner at $1.00 per year.

Important work was done with certain British manufacturers who were influenced to open branches in this city.

The great Harbour development of which we are all so proud, has continued to locate important industries on Harbour lands.

As new development has proceeded and more lands have been made available, the Harbour Commissioners have increased their efforts and are able to report substantial progress as is evidenced by the industrial activity on our water-front to-day. (Applause.)

NEW HARBOUR DEVELOPMENTS:

With buildings rising everywhere on the Toronto water-front, the city is reaping its share of the development there in the growing receipts of taxes. Recently a statement was issued showing the assessed value of the lands, buildings and business of industries located on the Toronto Harbour Commission properties. The figures for 1928 are just double those of 1924. For this year it is estimated that the tax collection will be around $756,000.00, new money. (Applause.)

OTHER AGENCIES:

In 1924 the Toronto Publicity Bureau was appointed as Industrial Commissioners to succeed Mr. Cousins and they functioned actively and with fair success until 1927.

Meanwhile the Tourist and Convention Association, an organization chiefly in the interests of the hotels of Toronto and those whose business is directly affected by visitors to the City, has been active in seeking Tourists and Conventions and in issuing publicity for such purposes.

THE BOARD OF TRADE'S INTEREST:

The Toronto Board of Trade has been very helpful throughout this period, lending support to such activities as were from time to time operating in the interest of new industrial enterprise, and latterly, together with the more directly important services of the Harbour Commissioners, they have given freely of their time and resources in taking care of numerous inquiries and industrial prospects.

The lack of equipment for following through Industrial prospects was fully realized by the Board of Trade, and that body has been vigorous in its advocacy of a proper Industrial Commissionership being established.

ACTION BY THE CITY:

In September, 1927, the City Council confirmed a very comprehensive resolution of the Board of Control looking to action in this matter, but no action was taken until 1928 when His Worship the Mayor took the matter up.

The Board of Control authorized a conference of representatives of organizations and interested citizens. His Worship convened this meeting and as a result the present corporation was organized under Letters Patent issued by the Province of Ontario. (Applause.)

THE NEW COMMISSION—A CORPORATION:

The present Commission is a corporation, therefore, with a charter enabling it to proceed with the business of securing new industries, aiding existing industries and of making known the advantages of this city and the area surrounding it for industrial development.

The new corporation has been very fortunate in securing not only unanimous recognition by the Board of Control, but has been granted by the City the sum of $25,000.00 per annum for five years—it being understood that a similar amount should be secured from other sources.

PRIVATE FINANCIAL SUPPORT:

With respect to financial support, it is proposed to limit the appeal to larger concerns who are known to be interested in industrial development and able to support the work; to seek a small number of comparatively large subscriptions for a period of five years, rather than smaller subscriptions from a larger number. It is felt

I am happy to be able to say that leading firms and financial institutions have subscribed an amount in excess prove the worth of the undertaking.
that in this way the financial requirements of the organization will be assured for a sufficiently long period to of the amount to be received from the city.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors consists of fourteen members, with power to add six additional members to the Board.

The Board of Trade has appointed six, the Manufacturers Association, three, while the City, the Harbour Board, the T. T. C., the Hydro and the Canadian National Exhibition Association are all represented. Provision is also made for an appointee of the Ontario Government whose co-operation and support is desired and recognized as an important consideration.

Co-operation of Public Bodies:

These public bodies, other than the city, are vitally interested in the work to be done, and may desire to contribute to the Commission's support, and it is part of the policy of the Commission, if and when such support is given and accepted, to raise at least a dollar from private sources for each dollar of public funds subscribed.

The Executive Committee:

Under our Charter the directors have been authorized to appoint under a special By-law an Executive Committee to carry on the active management of the corporation.

Principle of Independent Action Observed:

As will be seen the principle of independent action has been observed, and it is a fact that while the Commission is officially recognized by the city and by the various public bodies, it is free and independent of city politics—a self-subsisting corporation, such as can properly claim adequate financial support for its activities and deserve as well the thorough co-operation of all public and private bodies and individuals.

Our initial needs are already arranged for and the Commission has appoinnted for its General Manager, Mr. Main Johnson, who I believe will perform service of conspicuous character as he moves forward upon his duties. (Applause.)

Our new General Manager will be well supported financially, and is consequently able to spend his entire time on the work to be done.

Mr. Johnson has been on the job only a fortnight, but has in this short time taken over a multitude of detail from various sources, has followed up with fine vigour several prospects awaiting his attention, and spent useful effort on new lines of work.

TEMPORARY OFFICES:

The Commission hopes very shortly to secure permanent quarters. Meanwhile we have to thank our friends of the Toronto Transportation Commission for putting at our disposal as temporary offices, very commodious quarters, and useful services, which immediately have enabled us to do effective work.

Mr. Walter Gordon, loaned to us by the firm of Clarkson, Gordon and Dilworth, has been appointed Acting Secretary-Treasurer and is doing splendid service in keeping our records and organizing our accounts.

The Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National Railway Industrial Commissioners have given us full cooperation and the press of the city has been at our service from the start with timely and informative news items and editorials.

OUR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Our Executive Committee consists of His Worship, the Mayor; Thomas Jenkins, Chairman of the Harbour Board; John A. Tory, President of the Board of Trade; Roy D. Kerby of the Manufacturers Association, and the President.

This Executive meets every Friday at eleven o'clock to receive the weekly report of the General Manager, and for the transaction of general business.

While policies are being decided upon, plans matured and a working budget approved, much active preliminary work of a practical character has been begun.

TEMPORARY OFFCERS:

While no further staff appointmeits have been made, important work has been allotted to various temporary officers who are being employed variously upon definite industrial prospects, the preparation of classified lists of established industries and upon a program of necessary publicity.

One of the first steps taken has been to list existing industries under two classes—

(a) Those manifestly successful;
(b) Those whose activities are not altogether satisfactory.

The purpose of this work is to establish our position, so far as opportunity for new industries is concerned.

Those industries whose activities are of an active contributing character and who are undoubtedly doing their work well and serving the city and country well will be left alone by the Commission to the extent that it will not itself initiate any efforts to provide additional competition, and will co-operate in helping to expand existing industries as opportunities come to its attention.

Such industries, however, as cannot be hindered by further competition will be listed for attention.

Those industries which are reputed to be in an unsatisfactory condition will be considered under say two divisions:

(1) Those who are conducting an enterprise whose opportunity is insufficient, and therefore which may never succeed, and
(2) Those whose operations can be considered a needful enterprise in this community, but who through lack of enterprise or from bad management should be stimulated and encouraged or be replaced by up-to-date concerns.

This latter group will receive active attention by the Commission.

QUESTIONNAIRES TO LOCAL MANUFACTURERS:

Manufacturers in this area have been asked for information:—

(a) As to materials and parts used in their products which are imported into Canada;

(b) If similar products are made in Canada and if so why imported products are being preferred;

(c) If such materials and parts are not now being made in Canada, whether there is a field for the establishment of industries in Canada to make them.

Ninety-five firms, many of first class importance, gave immediate replies to these questions, and their answers provide us with many useful leads.

Toronto manufacturers have also been asked if they have spaces in their present premises for rent or for sale to other industries.

One hundred and four have already replied and thirty-one of those answering have reported certain space available.

BRITISH AND OTHER CORRESPONDENTS:

We are in touch with the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, His Majesty's Trade Commissioner in Toronto, our own Canadian Trade Commissioners, the British Federation of Industries, National Union of Manufacturers of Great Britain, the Canadian Minister to France and the Canadian Minister to the United States, and with the Commercial Attache to the Frenh Legation at Ottawa.

We are securing address lists of those exhibiting at the British Industries Fairs, Lyons Fair, Leipzig Fair, and last but not least outside-of-Canada firms at the Canadian National Exhibition. (Applause.)

COMPARISON WITH SIMILAR BODIES:

We are comparing operations and plans with those in operation in Atlanta, Cleveland and Los Angeles, and in the border cities, Windsor and Detroit.

Our Manager has visited Windsor and Detroit and has discussed with the Executives of leading industrial companies the prospect of locating some of their operations in Toronto.

A word to those in business in Toronto and Ontario:—

NO ENCOURAGEMENT TO UNNECESSARY COMPETITION

No activity of this Commission will be directed to multiplying unnecessary competition. Those firms who are doing their job well and progressing, even if at present their operations may not be as large as we should like to see, will be left as far as possible undisturbed by the introduction, through efforts initiated by us, of unnecessary competitors.

Further, may I say that the fine industrial cities and towns of Ontario are not to be "preyed" upon.

On the other hand, we believe many, if not all industrial zones, in this province, will benefit by our activities.

OUR FIRST EFFORT—TORONTO AND SUBURBS:

Our first effort will be naturally to establish the new industry within the boundaries of the city.

(1) On Harbour lands.
(2) In existing industrial areas.
(3) In areas which we hope will be recovered from presently inactive areas.

Our second efforts will be in and around the metropolitan area of Toronto.

We shall not, however, hesitate to suggest to a new industry any area in this province that we may believe promises the best opportunity for successful enterprise—

and for this reason we invite the co-operation of all our sister municipalities.

Industries we hope to secure for Toronto may be divided roughly into two classes:

(1) Such as require large acreage in cheap lands, plentiful labour and low taxation and favourable low cost conditions.

(2) Such as recognize Toronto as the centre of Canada's richest and most numerous consuming population.

The latter are the most numerous and can afford to pay for general city and harbour locations. They are of the class whose operations require comparatively small acreage, whose volume runs into money and who want to be in the midst of the largest body of available consumers, both for reasons of economical distribution and for publicity purposes.

We hope to bring scores of such industries.

The former group may have to be provided for in the suburbs or other territory tributary to this economic area.

Time will not permit an enumeration of all the obviously favourable considerations which are to be found in this city.

Our labour, while above many in standard of living, is generally able, wholesome and sound, and a fine day's work is given for a good day's pay. The moral quality of work done by those employed in this city will compare with the world's best.

Canada holds a unique position in the world for its volume of trade per capita.

We are a favourable base from which an export business may be conducted.

We uphold the best traditions of British trading and the British flag, and Toronto is, of all places in Canada, a place of world-wide good trading reputation.

We can therefore appeal to Industrialists of Britain and other countries to establish in Canada:

(1) To share in the trade of the most happy and prosperous of all peoples of the world;

(2) To prosecute from this fair base a world-wide export business. In closing I wish to pay tribute to those whose moral and financial support have made this Commission possible.

The speaker has been accorded many evidences of confidence and goodwill.

We shall try to do our best. We have as an objective such an addition to taxable industrial property and business from new enterprises as will more than make up for the present deficit on our Waterfront development expenditure.

Municipal Income Tax in the Province of Ontario is one of our greatest obstacles to the establishment of new enterprise in competition with other provinces. I am hopeful, that in spite of this unfavourable feature, our increase in taxable properties will enable us to repeal the present law, and so remove an unnecessary handicap, at the same time preserving our revenues from taxation.

May I thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity of telling my fellow members of the Empire Club and our guests of to-day, of this new enterprise, the Toronto Industrial and Publicity Commission, whose work we hope will be a signal service to our city as well as a useful instrument for the development of Empire trade. (Applause.)

The thanks of the Club were tendered to the speaker by Mr. R. A. Stapells.

AUSTRALIA

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR J. J. SIMONS.

(Before a Joint Meeting of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club.)

15th April, 1929

MR. EAYRS, President of the Empire Club, was in the Chair and introduced the speaker, who was cordially greeted and spoke as follows: Since I have been in Toronto it has been my privilege to make so many speeches I almost wonder that it is possible to still get an audience. However it is a very great pleasure for us to assemble under the auspices of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club. Our boys, as you know, have been brought together from nearly seventy schools throughout the Commonwealth, and four schools in the Dominion of New Zealand. To-day, therefore, we have an outward sign of the unity and consciousness of brotherhood which is existing between the three parts of the Empire, when we see these assembled together. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It is one of the great miracles of colonization and statesmanship that a gathering such as this should be possible, that in spite of the miles that separate our homes we can come together with no other link than that of a common heritage, and feel that we have lived with each other all our lives. (Applause.) We spontaneously give expression to feelings and to sentiments which meet with an equally spontaneous approval, all of which goes to show that there is something holding the different parts of the British Empire together which is stronger and more binding and has greater endurance than all the parchment constitutions which have ever been written. (Applause.) The British Empire is kept together, not by force, not by compulsion, but by the silken bonds of a beautiful understanding, bonds which we believe will be unbreakable, unfrayed, and so far from being weakened by time, will become stronger and more enduring. (Applause.) And we believe, coming together as we do, that we are making just a little stronger those influences which make for the power and the majesty of the British Empire.

We rejoice to be able to witness the development of Ontario. We were in Ottawa the other day and we bared our heads in the Memorial Hall; we inclined our ears to listen to the sweet music of the bells in that great Tower of Remembrance, and we felt, as the bells sent out their tune, and as we became enveloped in the atmosphere of that memorial chamber, that we were shareholdrs in all this grandeur and in all this beauty. (Applause.) We have travelled thousands of miles, not to see a strange people, or to see a strange country, but to see something which we knew belonged to us, because this great miracle had been performed, a miracle the efficacy of which had not been destroyed by time nor effaced by distance. Some have said, What are the invisible links of the British Empire? Gentlemen, we belong to that school which believes that the greatest power, the greatest forces of life are the invisible forces. There is somthing almost indefinable in the spirit which keeps the British Empire together. Our boys respond to it just as Canadian boys respond to it. There is an eternal well, an eternal fount through which that force is ever flowing, which gives us a sense of security stronger than all material things which can be brought into existence or to which we may draw attention. Australia, we believe, is playing a large and worthy part in that great partnership. Canada is playing a worthy and noble part, and we are witnesses of the part that Canada is playing. Australia must progress, and so must Canada. Both countries have youth on their side. While they have not got the deep long traditions to look back upon, so far as the immediate country is concerned, yet they have the tradition which goes back into the ages from which they draw inspiration from the Motherland;

and coupled with that they have virility, knowing that their nations are yet at the morning of their greatness, yet at the beginning of their grandeur, a grandeur and a greatness for which the sons of Canada and Australia have built strong and enduring foundations. (Applause.)

Our emblem, as you know, is the kangaroo; your emblem the beaver, both are animals with adorable qualities. I think there was something in the minds of the early colonists of your dominion and ours when they selected peace-loving animals for their emblems, not animals that tear and claw and devour the other fellow. Take the kangaroo, one of the most graceful creatures which God ever made; it never kills a living thing in order to live. It is peace-loving; it never fights unless it is forced to, and when it has to fight it puts its back up against a forest tree and then the fight is worth looking at. (Laughter.) And, gentlemen, the natural historians tell us that the kangaroo is the only animal which the Lord ever made that cannot put its tail between its legs. (Laughter and applause.) And, gentlemen, it goes ahead by leaps and bounds. (Laughter.) It is impossible for the kangaroo to move an inch; it has to go by yards. What a wonderful emblem to which to attune the progress of Australia!

And then I look, at the beaver with its wonderful qualities. It is one of the few animals in the world which are capable of team-work. I have read how that small animal, because of its team-work can fell great trees across brooks and streams, and because of team-work can build dams which last for quite a long while.

There are two fine inspirations to draw from your emblem and ours. The team-work of Canada represents the great contribution to the progress of the British Empire, and we believe the qualities of the kangaroo, our emblem, which are seen in the progress of Australia, both give lessons from which mankind may learn much.

Speaking of the kangaroo, we have to come to Canada to hear stories of it. I heard the other day from Mr. Roadhouse, a government official, of a Chicago man who was going to Australia to open up a business, and someone said, you will meet a lot of kangaroos down there. He said, I don't care, their money is just as good as anyone's. (Laughter.) I am glad you like that story, but I have to acknowledge it is of Canadian origin, one of the best Australian stories we have heard since we have been on this side of the line. Over in the United States we attended twenty-two dinners, and at twenty-one of them the Chairman told us the same story about the Australian kangaroo in a New York zoo, and in case you are tempted to tell it to any of our boys, I want to tell it now. (Laughter.) There was an Irishman in the New York zoo. He saw a kangaroo and asked someone what animal that was. They said, that is a native of Australia. Great heavens, he said, my sister married one of those. (Laughter.) That was the only Australian story we heard in the United States in three months, and each chairman stood up and told it while our boys all kept straight faces, because they are well trained; and the twenty-first time they heard it they applauded louder than they did the first time. But I do not want you to tell them that story because they know it already.

Of course we have had Canadians visit Australia, and we find as long as they are pure Canadians they are all right. But we get some Canadians of the other kind, who spent about seven or eight years somewhere along the Hudson River, and when they get to Australia they are not quite as attractive as they would have been if they had gone direct from Toronto. One of them was out on a big cattle station, or ranch, in our country. When an ordinary Australian merino sheep came across the landscape, the Australian said, there is a big sheep. He said, yes, but you ought to see the big sheep we have in Ontario. A little while later a cow came across and the farmer with pride pointed out the cow and said, that is the biggest in the district. This man said, you ought to see the cows we have over in Ontario; they would make four of that. A little while later they saw a pig and the farmer said, that is the biggest pig we have got here, you have nothing like that in Ontario. He said, one Ontario pig would make five of that. And in a few minutes a kangaroo jumped up, a great thing about seven feet high, and almost knocked the Canadian over. He said, what is that? The Australian said, that is a mosquito; have you got anyhing like that in Ontario? (Laughter.)

We are very glad to exchange ideas about the problems of this part of the Empire. We know they will interest us, just as our problems should interest you, when the boys of Canada and the other parts of the Empire have a deep consciousness of exactly what the Empire means. We are drawing lessons, as the Chairman has said, which are of very high educational value as we move from one place to another. In Australia we have patterned our constitution very largely on that of Canada. At the beginning we had our colonies with conflicting ideas and conflicting interests, and we felt that as a people we could not worthily play our part in the British Empire and the affairs of mankind generally unless we came together as a united nation. We looked to Canada for many of the lessons which the confederation of this country had to teach. And when the necessity of building a federal capital was born, we took the experience of Ottawa, just as we took the experience of Washington, on which to shape our plans. To-day in Australia we are creating, we are bringing into being and dreaming of a capital for our nation which will be the finest city in all the world. (Applause.) When we saw Washington, and when we saw Ottawa, I know that each boy made a mental resolve. When they said at Washington, this is the finest capital in the world, and when they said at Ottawa, this is the finest federal capital in the British Empire, while good breeding and manners forbade the boys saying we know of a better one, away down in their hearts there was this resolve, we know of a place where there is going to be a greater capital. (Applause.) When that capital is greater I know you as Canadians will not be jealous, because it is your capital just as much as it is ours. (Hear, hear.) Your Ottawa and the achievements which it makes manifest to the visitor, is as much our heritage as it is yours. (Applause.) That is the great lesson which our boys are drawing from this contact with the people of Canada.

Now we want that same sort of partnership, that same sort of comity of interest to be imported or introduced into our finance and our commerce and our other inter-imperial relationships. We believe that strong though the Empire is, its strength could be multiplied many times over if we had a clearer and a better understanding regarding trade. We have read a great deal about the balance of trade. There are a great many things being consumed in the Dominion which should be coming from Australia. (Applause.) There are a great many things which we are using in New Zealand and Australia which should be coming from Canada. (Hear, hear.) And the views we have are these, that every million dollars sent into Canada from Australia is a million dollars kept within the Empire, and every million dollars you send to us is still in your family, and we know that there is always a sense of security that these millions of dollars will never be used to build any battleships or make any bullets that will be used against you in some hostile affair in the future. (Applause.) We have not been here long enough to advise Canada—(Laughter)—it would be very bad manners if in our egotism we thought we knew sufficient to advise you. But we find that while there is a great leakage in our finance and commerce, there is also a great leakage in brains. We have found Canadians and Australians giving their education, giving their brains, to the building up of countries outside the Empire, which seems to be a wrong economy. We have met scores of Australians and hundreds of Canadians who have been educated at the expense of some government, some University within the British Empire, and just as their knowledge has reached almost perfection, just as it has reached that stage where it is usable and where it should be employed in building up the British Empire, it has gone out to some other country. That seems to us all wrong. We are only clever enough to diagnose the difficulty; we must leave it to our statesmen to ascertain the cure. But cure there must be if we only turn our energies and our mental forces towards its discovery (Applause.)

Gentlemen, it has been a great pleasure for us to come into Toronto. We expected much but we have received more. I know of no welcome on our entire tour which has been more hearty, which has been more enthusiastic, or which will leave deeper or more abiding memories than what you have done for us here in Toronto. We will go back to Australia reinspired in our love for that spirit of unity which is the basis of the British Empire. We will go back with an enhanced admiration for what the people of Canada are doing to build up this great Dominion. If I had the eloquence of your greatest orator I could not adequately express the gratitude which is in the hearts of the boys and the gratitude which I know will struggle to find expression from the hearts of their mothers and fathers when they hear the story of all that Canada has done for our young ambassadors. (Applause.)

Mr. Daly, President of the Canadian Club, expressed the thanks of the meeting to the speaker, and announced that through the courtesy of Mr. Eayrs, and as a souvenir of the occasion, each boy would receive a copy of Professor W. Stewart Wallace's First Book of Canadian History. The Australian boys, numbering 160, gave two of their yells, a "Cooee" for the Canadian Club, and a "Skyrocket" for the Empire Club.

A MUSICAL DAY

18th April, 1929

The guests of honour were the Manager, the principals and the whole company of the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, amongst whom were Mr. G. Hobbes, Manager of the Company, Miss Bertha Lewis, Mr. Henry Lytton, Mr. Charles Goulding, Mr. Darrell Fancourt, Mr. Sidney Granville, and others.

President EAYRS introduced the guests of honour. Mr. Hobbes, the Manager of the Company spoke of the affectionate regard the whole Company had for Canada as a whole and Toronto in particular, and stressed the point of the value in the way of practical imperialism of the interchange of visits between musically minded folk from one part of the Empire to the other.

Mr. Hobbes then took charge of the musical programme. Many of the principals sang items from their Gilbert and Sullivan repertoire, and the chorus were most generous in their choral singing. The entire audience rose and sang "For he is an Englishman" so closing a most memorable luncheon of the Club.

WHAT IS A CANADIAN CITIZEN?

An Address by THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D., D.C.L., etc.
Justice of Appeal, Ontario.

25th April, 1929

The President of the Club introduced the speaker, who said,

Imprimis, he isn't.

And if you are a legalist and a lover of the Classics you may add *et ad finem et ab ovo usque ad malum.*[1]

There is no such thing, in strict terminology, as a "Canadian Citizen", just as there is no such thing as the "British Empire" or the "British Commonwealth of Nations."[2] But *qui haeret in litteris, haeret in cortice*—and he who is a stickler for the literal may miss the substance—there is no difficulty in understanding what is meant by the expression "British Empire", any more than in understanding the inscription on the Quaker Church opposite Franklin's grave in Philadelphia which says that the building was erected in a certain "year of the Empire."[3]

With every concession to the literalist, I make no difficulty in using the terminology, "Canadian Citizen", and this without fear of misconception.

To use the familiar and traditional language, the Canadian Citizen is a "subject", but a "subject" of whom?

The first Stuart King of England, James I, (James VI of Scotland), was ardently desirous of having his two Kingdoms of England and Scotland welded into one Kingdom of Great Britain. One means recommended itself to him, which might assist in that direction, that is, to have all those born in Scotland after his accession to the throne of England, considered "natural-born subjects" for all purposes also in England. The English

Lords were quite willing to meet the King's wishes in this regard; but the Commons proved recalcitrant—they were Englishmen and were desirous that the Scot should stick to his own country and leave England to the English—it may be that this sentiment continues to survive in some quarters even to this day.

Matters standing at a deadlock, it chanced that a Scottish lad who had been born in Scotland after James' accession to the English throne, became entitled—were he a "natural-born subject"—to certain land in England. By the Common Law of England, no one but a "natural-born subject" can inherit land in England: and the sole question was "Is the young Scot, Robert Calvin, a 'natural-born subject'?"

A Bill of Equity was filed on behalf of the lad: and also an action at the Common Law in Ejectment was brought. Demurrers were entered in both proceedings, raising the neat point: the Lord Chancellor, Lord Ellesmere, who was in favour of the King's views, might have decided the case in his own Court for the plaintiff; but the Demurrer in the Common Law action having been referred to a Court of all the Common Law Judges, it was thought well to have both Demurrers argued together before a full Bench of Judges in the Exchequer Chamber.

The modern has some difficulty in following the mediaeval subtlety and metaphysical terminology of the arguments, and indeed it may be said that a modern has difficulty in getting into the atmosphere of those days, whether in Law, Medicine, Philosophy, what not? Matter composed of four Elements, Earth, Air, Fire and Water, the Animal world having the serpent which slew at a distance by its glance and the little fish which checked the course of a ship in full sail—the Vegetable Kingdom boasting its mandrake-root which shrieked when drawn from the earth—the four "humours" of the body, Blood, Phlegm, Yellow Bile and Black Bile—whose predominance determined the "temperament"—all that "knowledge" now obsolete and when remembered an object of ridicule.

Even in Mathematics, Cardan is not always wholly intelligible if Cocker is; although we had to wait for Gauss and Bolyai for real transcendentalism.

It was no wonder then that the relation of subject to King was discussed in language scarcely intelligible to the modern. It may perhaps not be very wide of the mark to say that the contention of the defendants was, in substance, that a "natural born subject" was a person born the subject of the King of England *qua* King of England—a metaphysical entity—while that of the plaintiffs was that a "natural-born subject" was a person, born the subject of the human being, the individual, who was King of England—an entity of flesh and blood. The decision was in favour of the plaintiffs: the King, the man, was King of Scotland; and Calvin was his natural-born subject and the fact that he was King of England also did not destroy the tie of allegiance.

It consequently follows that while anyone born in England is a subject of the King because he is the King of England, and any one born anywhere else than in England in the King's dominions was and is a subject of the King, not because he is King of England, but because he is King of the territory in which the subject was born.

The enormous significance of this conclusion was to a certain extent, although by no means fully, recognized at the time; it was that the decision tended to help the King in his endeavours to unify the Island under one Crown, instead of two: and beyond question, it was in accordance with the King's hopes and wishes.. On the giving of judgment, a unique occurrence took place—unique, at all events, in English jurisprudence. According to Coke's Reports, 7 Co. R. 28 (a), it was intimated from the Bench that the King had not interfered! The delectable utterance is thus reported: "In the proceeding of this case . . . . did the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas publicly deliver in the end of his argument in the Exchequer Chamber. First, that no commandment or message by word or writing was sent or delivered from any whatsoever to any of the Judges, to cause them to incline to any opinion in this case; which I remember, for that it is honourable for the state and consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm. . . . " The whole story may be read in *Calvin's Case,* (1608) 2 Howell's State Trials, 607, *sqq.* The case is generally known as the Case of the Postuati.[4]

The result of the judgment in unifying the whole British world is incalculable—but often overlooked. The tie of allegiance is personal between a person superior, the Sovereign, and a person inferior the Subject: Every British subject is a subject of a personal King, but not *qua* King of some other part of British territory; and wherever that King reigns, the subject is a "natural-born subject", not simply in his own particular part of the King's dominions: *Civis Britannicus sum, non civis Canadensis.*

The people of one part of the Empire are not the subjects of the people of any other part: Canadians are not subjects of Englishmen any more than Englishmen are subjects of Canadians—both are subjects of the same individual, each (speaking generally) being born in some part of the dominions of that individual.

"Canadian Citizen" is a convenient term for a British subject who makes his home in Canada, whether he is born or naturalized there or came from some other part of the British world.

An American[5] citizen has, or, at least, need have, no difficulty as to his status and rights—the Constitution of his country is in writing and means what it says (we may perhaps except the Electoral College); if there be any doubt of the meaning of the language employed in the Constitution, the Courts may be asked to interpret it. A Canadian Citizen is not in the same case; his Constitution is largely unwritten, and what is written often does not mean what it says, but is what is sometimes called camouflage—from the King who is said to be King by the Grace of God, although everybody, including himself,—and he is proud of it—knows that he is King by the grace of an Act of Parliament—who is the owner of all the land in Canada, but who cannot give his son a ranch, and accordingly, the Prince of Wales has to buy one like any Canadian (or should I say "any other Canadian"?)—through the Governor-General and Lieutenant-Governor who do no governing, either originally or substitutionally—to the County Police Magistrate who has nothing to do with the Police.

It is this difference that makes it so difficult for one not accustomed to our ways, an American, for example, to understand the position of Canada and Canadians.

He finds the Imperial Government sending out a Governor-General to Canada and, at once, and naturally, the American thinks of his own Governor; and if he is a student of history, of the Colonial Governors before the Revolution—he is puzzled at a dignitary with so august a title having practically no authority and no official duty but to "sign on the dotted line". He may, indeed, derive some assistance from Theodore Roosevelt's description of the King as a sort of perpetual Vice-President and head of the Four Hundred .

So, too, he may see a Canadian Lieutenant-Governor who is not an officer to act in lieu of the Governor-General in case of his absence, (as the Lieutenant-Governor acts in the place, *lieu,* of the Governor in his absence)—the Chief-Justice of Canada generally does that—the Canadian Lieutenant-Governor is not "in lieu" of anybody; but he is in a Province what the Governor-General is in the Dominion—a *Roi Fainéant,* who does as he is told by a Ministry, nominally responsible to the King whose personal Representative he is, but in fact, responsible to the people. As his Master, the King is and must be satisfied with reigning and leaves the ruling to the people to whom it rightly belongs—so his personal Representative, Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor must be content with the name of governing and not therefore with those who actually do govern—the people.

The American seeing in the written Constitution of Canada, that the Governor-General must give the Royal

Assent to all legislation of the Parliament of Canada before it becomes law, and the Lieutenant-Governor the like in a Province) naturally thinks of the President of the United States and the Governor of a State exercising their independent judgment on the Bills sent up to them, and rejecting them if not satisfied with them. Theoretically, the right exists—once anomalously, in a Province of the Dominion it has been exercised—that episode deserves a chapter for itself) but for all practical purposes, it is as dead as Queen Anne, as dead as the right of the King to decline to give, in time-honoured Norman French, his Assent to legislation passed at Westminister, a right which has not been exercised since the time of King William III.

Anyone not a British subject, seeing it solemnly expressed that the Governor-General must transmit to the Imperial authorities a copy of every Act of Parliament to which he has given Royal Assent, and that at any time within two years any Act may be disallowed, would be perfectly justified in believing that Canadian legislation is scrutinized at Westminster, and such as does not recommend itself to the Administration disallowed. Theoretically, that is the course to be pursued; but, in fact, with the exception of one Act which was disallowed more than half a century ago at the suggestion of the Canadian Ministry, the technical right of disallowance has never been exercised by the Imperial Administration, although there has been much that was unpalatable to the Mother Country. Not for more than half a century has there been so much as a suggestion that Canadian legislation should be interfered with; and it is unthinkable that there can ever be a recrudescence of any disposition to treat Canada as a "Colony".

This condition of affairs was not achieved *uno ictu*, but by a long course of evolution.

Lord Balfour has recently said that the real cause of the American Revolution was the conception in the Old Land that the Colonies were a "possession" of England. I heard in Westminster Hall five years ago the Lord

Chancellor of Great Britain say in public that the American Revolution was the most important event in the history of the Empire in the 18th century.[6] With the former statement I wholly agree; and in the latter go further than Lord Haldane and say that in my opinion, the American Revolution was the most important event in the world in its century, being the initiation of the change from the Old British Empire which it destroyed, to the New British Empire, our glory and our pride, which secularly is the greatest and most efficient power for good in the world.

Let us consider the logical result of the view of allegiance—"citizenship", if you will—determined in *Calvin's Case,* more than three centuries ago.

If and so far as the King actually ruled and commanded personal obedience, there could be no difficulty between the peoples of the different parts of his realm. All these peoples received their government from the one man whom they were bound to obey, and it made no difference where he chose to live. The fact that he lived in England gave no right to any Englishman to dictate to anyone not an Englishman or in England; nor did it elevate an Englishman above other subjects of their common King.

But even in James' time, the ruling power of the King of England had become seriously impaired—a Henry II or even a Henry VIII had become impossible and there was already much of the view of the rights of the subject which culminated on the scaffold at Whitehall in January, 1649, when the "Martyr King", Charles I, met his doom.

By degrees, and with an occasional reactionary setback, the Royal Power dwindled in fact, though the traditional forms were preserved. We British are not a folk troubling themselves with terminological exactitude, we care little or nothing for form—so long as the institution works all right, we do not worry over what it may be called; and as the old forms did not harm, they were retained. But the letter remaining the same the whole spirit of government was revolutionised—the people were to rule, not the King.

The logic of the situation was that when the people ruled, those of each part of the King's Realm should rule their own part if capable of doing so, the "citizens" of any one part not being subjects of the "citizens" of any other part. This principle was fully recognized even when considerable Royal power still existed; while James and his successors were Kings of both England and, Scotland and, consequently, their Royal mandate was to be obeyed by Englishmen and Scotsmen, the Council or Advisers of the King in one Kingdom did not presume to interfere with the affairs of the other, and until Queen Anne's time, each country had its own Parliament. Scotland was not considered a "possession" of England though it was a "possession" of him who was King of England and who lived in England.

In the case of the Colonies, logically the same principle should prevail. So long, indeed, as the Colony was in its infancy, unable to look after itself, supported by the money and arms of the Mother Country, it might well be denied self-government—it would probably not ask self-government—it would be like a child requiring care and guidance. But the Colony did not belong to the *people* of the Old Land—the Colonists were not subjects of the *people* of the Old Land—the Colony belonged to the *King* and it was to the *King* that the Colonists owed their allegiance.

When Canada became British *de jure* by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 at the close of the Seven Years' War, there was in the mind of the King and the governing classes, no conception of the Colonies other than that they were a "possession" of England, the property of England, and therefore to be administered for the benefit of England, the advancement of her trade and manufactures. The Colonists were looked on as inferiors who had to obey and be guided by their superiors across the sea; their Governors were expected to obey the orders of the Administration at Westminister and were in no way responsible to the people of the Colonies; and the legislation of their parliamentary bodies was constantly and effectively supervised by the Privy Council and its Committee, the "Lords of Trade".

This was the only conception of Colonial Government that had ever entered the mind of the King and his advisers in England. The Governor, Governor-General, or Lieutenant-Governor, being a Representative of the King, was an officer of the Home Administration, the King's Advisers at his home and obedient to its mandates.

To give an example from the early history of our first Lieutenant-Governor, John Graves Simcoe, thought Timothy Pickering (an American Commissioner, sent to make a treaty with the Indians) "a violent, low, philosophic, cunning New Englander. In conversation at our table he held out to our gentry of the same stamp, Hamilton and Cartwright, the doctrine that assimilates States to private families and deduces from the child growing up into manhood and being capable to take care of himself and that it is right and natural for a son to set up for himself and by a just inference that such is the disposition and tendency of all States." See my *Life of John Graves Simcoe,* Toronto, 1926, p. 205. (Hamilton and Cartwright, grandfather of Sir Richard, were Legislative Councillors who would not always do as they were told *hinc illae lacrimae et illa vituperatio*).

The American Colonists in the course of time had another view from that of the King's advisers namely, that the Colonies existed not for the Mother Country but for the Colonists, and the Colonists were not the inferiors or subjecs of the people of the Old Land but knew best what suited to their own needs; and must be trusted to do their own law-making—retaining their allegiance to the King, indeed, but owing none to his Government or Advisers at Westminister. The determination to retain their allegiance to the King was manifested almost up to July 4, 1776, and it was only when it was absolutely manifest to the Colonies that they could not have self-government as the English people had it and retain their allegiance, that the Declaration of Independence was framed.

I do not propose to enter into a discussion as to the rights and wrongs of the American Revolution: such would be as idle and profitless as a discussion of the rights and wrongs of the Revolution in the times of Charles I, or that in the time of James II, or of the stirring times of 1715 and 1745. We in Canada are justly proud of the United Empire Loyalists who knowing that they were not enjoying the rights of free-born Englishmen, yet believing that these rights might, and in the course of time would, be vindicated in a peaceful and constitutional way, sacrificed everything that they might keep their faith to their liege Lord and "passed into exile, leaving all behind except their honour."

> Not drooping like poor fugitives they came
> In exodus to our Canadian wilds—
> But full of heart and hope, with head erect
> And fearless eye, victorious in defeat.

So, too, many of us glory in an ancestor who was a Cavalier and gave up everything for his King, a Jacobite who accompanied James II into exile in 1688, a Rebel who followed the son of King James II in 1715 or fought for Bonnie Prince Charlie in "the '45".[7] But we do not forget the precious privileges made secure by the Roundhead, the Bill of Rights which the Jacobite would have none of; and if the House of Hanover is not quite so picturesque as that of the Stuarts, it is less rapacious and much more reliable—there are few who do not recognize that the "wee German Lairdie" was not so bad after all.

To return to our subject: Whatever other result followed, by the American Revolution, the Old British Empire was rent in twain, never to be reinstated. A new era followed. While for a time treated by many as a paradox,[8] it has now become almost a commonplace that it was the conquest of Canada that rendered the American Revolution possible, and, consequently, Canada may in that sense, claim to be the birthplace of the New British

Empire in which the principle of Local Self-government has been triumphantly vindicated and proved to be the sheet-anchor of the British Constitution.

Relieved from the fear of French aggression from the north, the American Colonists took the only course open to them unless they were content to be inferiors—and the result is history.

The Independence of the American Colonies was a bitter cup for British pride to drain,[9] but a lesson was taught not wholly understood for a long time but never wholly ignored. Peoples of our breed will govern themselves whether for weal or for woe, for well or for ill, and never since has a Colony showing itself capable of self-government and asking for it, been refused such measure of self-government as it was capable of.

As it was in Canada that the death blow to the Old British Empire was struck, so it was in Canada that the New British Empire had its birth. The new British Empire is an interesting example—the most interesting example—of political evolution, the world has ever seen. It is a plant of slow growth, having its roots deep in the great principles of liberty and self-government established in the Old Land by the struggles often accompanied by blood and agony and death, lasting for generations—from long before Magna Carta to long after the Bill of Rights.

Not all at once could full effect be given to these principles any more than could full self-government be granted to the lad—but the progress has been all in the right direction.

For many years in Canada it was necessary—it was right—that the Mother Country should have a Governor here who actually governed—a real "gubernator" to control the helm of State—her money was freely spent to enable the new country to live and function, and her arms protected her child from foreign aggression.

Taking Upper Canada as our theme, it never was free from the threat of aggression from the South until the

War of 1812 taught those in that land that it would not be an easy prey—as had been confidently expected.

It is not, I think, a mere coincidence that it was at the close of that absurd and ruthless war, "Madison's War", that Upper Canada began to pay her way, and the wish for self-government began to make itself manifest. The agitation culminating in the Rebellion of 1837 was not understood at Home—the Rebellion itself came as a surprise and a shock to a Government and a people who believed and had every reason to believe that the Colonists as a whole were content and that those who sought and advocated Responsible Government were a handful of American emissaries and disgruntled Canadians desiring union with the United States. The Rebellion was foredoomed to failure once it proposed to dissolve the tie of allegiance to the monarch in the Old Land—union with our fellow subjects under the British Crown is the one thing upon which we Canadians always have insisted, do insist and always will insist.

"The Flag that braved a thousand years
The Battle and the Breeze"

has been, is and must continue to be our boast. And

"Our glorious Semper Eadem,
The Banner of our pride."

But that very Rebellion shook the complacency of the authorities at Westminster: Lord Durham's Report completed the enlightenment and the union of 1840 was the result, accompanied by a large measure of self-government. A little control continued to be exercised from across the sea, but that little became less and had practically disappeared when the Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867.

The Dominion of Canada was a Canadian product—the work of Canadian statesmen—the British North America Act, while in form an Imperial Statute, was at the time recognized by those in authority, Parliament or

Ministry, as a Treaty between those who were to be the "citizens" of the new State.

The Dominion solved the problem of many separate political entities subject to the one Sovereign, acting upon the advice of as many Ministries, each responsible to its own people, and so it formed the model for the New British Empire—as the Ministry of Ontario has no responsibility as to the affairs of Quebec, the Ministry of Quebec no responsibility as to the affairs of Ontario but yet the Ministry of Ontario and the Ministry of Quebec alike a Ministry of the same King.

This conception made its way somewhat slowly—even after Responsible Government was granted to Canada, and the Canadian Administration was considered responsible to the Canadian people alone, it was for a time considered not improper but the reverse for the Governor-General to exercise "a strong extra-parliamentary influence on legislation particularly when it touched imperial policies." I am informed by a fully competent authority that American college students are led to believe that he still wields this power. This is an outworn practice: a recent Governor-General publicly said that he was one man in Canada that had no right to have any politics. This was, of course, simply stating in striking language that the position of the Governor-General was, in Canada, analogous with that of the King in Britain; it did not mean that he had no right to have an opinion on public matters, but that he had the constitutional duty to defer to his constitutional advisers when they had obtained or could obtain the approbation of the majority of the Representatives of the people, and the constitutional duty to refrain from expressing dissent from them publicly. The Governor-General is the personal Representative of His Majesty in the Dominion, and is subject to the same constitutional limitations in fact and in constitutional usage. That the Lieutenant-Governor is the personal Representative of His Majesty in the Province is equally clear; this was decided more than a quarter of a century ago by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (see Liquidators of the Maritime Bank of Canada v. Receiver-General of New Brunswick, (1892) A.C. 437; this was again expressly stated in The Initiative and Referendum Act (1912) A.C. 935). This moreover, is necessarily so because by the British North America Act, it is provided that "The Executive Government and authority of and over Canada is . . . vested in the Queen": and it necessarily follows that he who exercises the "Executive Government" in Canada or any part of it must represent the Sovereign.

While this is quite clear and always has been, the view long prevailed that while the Governor did, in theory, represent the Sovereign, yet in his official acts, he was subject to the direction of the Advisers of the Sovereign at Westminster, in fact. This view meant that Canadians in the last result were subject to their fellow-subjects across the Sea, and were not self-governing.

This view, being still theoretically the law, gradually fell into a state of innocuous desuetude in practice—the insistence of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1878 on financial independence, the protest of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1887 on Canada not being bound by treaties to which she was not a party, the formation of the Colonial Council in 1897—and the significant change of name to Imperial Council in 1907, the War Cabinet in 1917, all have had their effect; the Imperial Council in 1296, when it was declared that the Governor-General was the Representative of His Majesty and not of the Imperial Administration, but expressed what had for years been the fact, wholly recognized both at Westminster and elsewhere throughout the Empire—the King is a constitutional monarch, bound by the constitution to follow the advice of His Ministers responsible to the people. Living in Britain, he has a Ministry responsible to the British people; not being able to live in Canada, he had a Representative here who is bound by the constitution to follow the advice of the King's Ministry here, responsible to the people of Canada. Of course he has a perfect right, if he thinks his advisers wrong, to ask the people to decide, to send them to seek the suffrages of the people, but in the long run, it is the people of Canada and the persons who have the confidence of the people of Canada who must decide.

Considerable discussion has taken place as to whether Canada can be called a Nation; but the answer must depend upon the definition given to the word "Nation"; and I do not see any hope of an agreement upon that point.

A distinction, however, must be drawn between the technically legal conceptions and the practical state of matters. Beyond any question, in law, the Parliament at Westminster can legislate effectively for Canada; it can change the name, the constitution, the international status of Canada, at will—it may say that there shall be no more Canadian legislatures, no Canadian Governments, no Canadian Electors, that Canada shall be governed by a benevolent autocrat sitting in Edinburgh—and it is no more likely to do anything of the kind than is the King to take the government of the British Isles into his own hands.

I have sometimes been asked by a sympathising American friend[10]—and who so sympathising as a real American nurtured on Fourth of July speeches—"Are you not afraid that you may lose your liberties by the action of England?"—it is always "England", no American has ever heard of Britain—My answer has always been "Are you not afraid that you are to have a full-blooded Negro, who cannot read or write, for a President?"

So too in International Law, Canada is a "Dependency" of Great Britain, and, if the point came up in my Court at Osgoode I must so decide as a matter of law—just as she was when in 1887 Laurier was unable to carry into effect his "British Preference", because, by a treaty made by the Mother Country, Germany and Belgium were to have as favourable a tariff as any other country, in Britain "and her dependencies."

In form, the Governor-General can veto every Bill;

in form, he is a self- advised ruler—and no one trembles: the Lieutenant Governor can be a local tyrant—if either were to attempt anything of the kind, there would be no rebellion—there would be an examination by an insanity expert.

What, then, in fact, and leaving aside the forms, some of them going back to the times of William the Conqueror —what then, in fact, is a "Canadian Citizen"?

He is first, last and all the time, a subject of the King of the British World, a part of whose realm is called "the British Dominions beyond the Seas" from the British Isles. The expression "British Dominion" has since the time of the American Revolution changed in its connotation: in olden days, a "British Dominion" was conceived of as a "Dominion the possession of the people of the British Isles"—shortly, a "Dominion of Britain": now the meaning is fundamentally different; it is a "Dominion, the possession of a British people, of a people in the allegiance of him who is the King of all the British folk, not simply of those who happen to reside in the British Isles. As by the very constitution of Canada, the King is the Sovereign of this "Dominion", every Canadian is his subject, and without violence done to constitution, he cannot desire any severance of the existing union of the whole British world, the so-called British Empire, brought about by the common allegiance to a common Sovereign. He, then, is and must be a loyal British subject. Recognizing that there is such a solidarity in the British world, the Canadian citizen must recognize his duty to come to the help of any other part of the Empire, in time of danger or distress—what happened in 1914 may well be repeated. But it is not alone war which may hurt our Empire, there are exigencies of trade, (tariffs are sometimes, not improperly, called a species of war), and it is not unreasonable to expect that our own folk should receive consideration.

But withal, the Canadian citizen will bear in mind that Canada has been given to him to rule, to care for, to make great in the greatness of righteousness; he cannot and will not throw that burden upon—give up that right to any other people however near and dear to him, however skilled in government by tradition and practice; to him much has been given and much is to be required. This will not be done by belittling Canada or Canadians; we may and should profit by the knowledge and experience of others, especially of our brethren in the Empire, but when all is said, we must take the responsibility of managing our own country.

These, then, I conceive to be the two principles upon which the Canadian citizen governs his public conduct—first "a British subject I was born, a British subject I will die": and second, Canada is to be managed by as well as for Canadians—perfect loyalty to the Crown and perfect self-government. It is upon these principles that Canada has grown and grown great—upon which she must grow greater and greater; and which will continue, please God, *in aeternum.*

Live for your Flag! O builders of the North!
In precious blood its Red is dyed, its White is Honour's sign!
In weal or ruth, its Blue Truth; its might, the Power divine!
Live for your Flag, O builders of the North!
Canada! Canada! in God, go forth!

NOTES

[1] In view of a misunderstanding in some quarters, but wholly unexpected by me, of my meaning in a previous address upon Canadian Citizenship, I think it necessary to state most unreservedly and explicitly that in nothing I say, have I the remotest intention to reflect upon the conduct of any party or of any person in public life, now or in the past; I am not conscious of stating anything as to the Constitution or Constitutional practice that has not become the merest commonplace, accepted by every political party and by every one who has given any thought to the subject. The only thing in this or the previous address that is or was novel is the application of Calvin's Case to the position of the people of the British world and especially of Canada.

[2] Since this subject was selected by me for an address to the Empire Club, I have noticed that very strong language has been used in at least one quarter against the use of the expression "British Commonwealth of Nations", and "The British Empire" is insisted upon as the only proper designation. It is largely a matter of taste which, if either, expression is used; but to make it a question of patriotism savours of absurdity. The Prince of Wales and Stanley Baldwin both use the former terminology, and possibly they will not be accused of want of patriotism or a want of due appreciation for the niceties of language. It is, of course, true that the word "Commonwealth" does not accurately express the collection of peoples constituting the British world; but, then, neither does the word "Empire", which connotes an Emperor—and yet "Empire" was used of England alone as long ago as the times of Henry VII. In the nature of things—and especially in the nature of man—we shall never be through with quarreling over words; but so long as we understand the substance underlying the terminology, no great harm will be done. Super-loyalty exceeding that of the King and the Lord Chancellor, we shall always have with us; and, after all, it adds to the pleasure of life; poetry we must have as well as dull prose.

[3] This "Empire" was the "Empire" of the United States—the word "Empire" being used in the sense of the legislation of Henry VIII, i.e., absolute power, subject to no other on earth. Our "Empire" began with such a connotation; the word has now half-a-score.

[4] There are many references to the Case in the Legal Historians, and the writers on International Law; but its full import from a Constitutional point of view has not, so far as I have seen, been appreciated, and certainly not fully discussed.

One somewhat curious and interesting reference, not noticed by any of the authors whom I have read, is found in the well-known *Epigrammata* of Johannes Audeonus, John Owen, a Welshman, born about 1560, educated at Oxford and spending most of his life in teaching. He began writing Epigrams in Latin as early as 1596, and continued the practice until near death; he died in London, 1622, and was buried at St. Paul's Cathedral. He left more than a thousand Epigrams in Latin which have been frequently reprinted, my own edition being that of 1810. He was an ardent Royalist being almost sycophantic in his attitude to King James; for example, he thus addresses him in his Lib. VI, Ep. 2:—

Ad Jacobus, Magnae Britanniae, etc.
Regem Opt. Max.

Omnia formidant, formicanturque tyranni:
  Semper habet comitem vis metuenda metum,
Cur metuae, causae nihil est, ***Rex maxime regum***
  Optime Rex, causae est cur metunre nihil."
Tyrants are afraid in everything and are feared in everything;
  Power that is to be feared, has ever Fear as a companion.
There is no cause for fear with you, Greatest King among Kings,
  Best of Kings, there is no cause for fear.

His reference to the Case of the Postnati in Lib. VI, Ep. 95:—

"Placitum Anno 1609, Inter Rob, Calvin Actorem, & Joan, Bingley, & Richard Griffin, Roes.

CVm *post natorum* lis est agitata, Robertus
  Jacobi vicit Filium: Omen habet.
Quod fuerit *reus* Anglicus alter, Wallicus alter,
  Scotus utrumque Actor vicerit omen habet,
Omen amo: Britones jungent jan pectora palmis;
  Non erit in partes insula secta duas
Post-nati natorum, and qui nescentur ab illis
  Crex pastoris erunt *unius unus. Amen.*

I.e., the Action in the year 1609, between Robert Calvin, Plaintiff, and John Bingley, and Richard Griffin, Defendants.
When the litigation concerning the Postnati was carried on, Robert,
  The son of James, was the victor: this is significant
That one defendant should be English, the other Welsh,
  And a Scots plaintiff should vanquish both is significant
I like the omen; Britons now join, heart and hand;
  There will not be an Island divided into two parts.
The Postnati and those who shall be born of them
  Will be one Flock of one Shepherd. Amen."

The last verse is an echo of S. John, X. 16:—"and there shall be one fold and one shepherd". It shows very clearly the view that was taken by the supporters of the King's policy of the effect of the judgment. This, the logical result seems not to have had much if any effect upon the course of Constitutional Law in England or the Empire.

[5] I use the word "American" for "a citizen of the United States", without any intention to hurt the feelings or sensibilities of those who resent what they conceive to be the

appropriation or the word by such citizens, they saying that they are also American— although I have not met any who are willing to be themselves called "Americans". I use the appellation, as it is that usual in international writings, including all from 1374 to the present time and as understood, if not concurred in by everybody—in the same way as I have spoken of the Church of England in Canada as a Protestant Church, as it is so denominated in the Statutes, and without any intention to interfere in any ecclesiastical discussion.

[6]At the meeting of the American Bar Association with the Canadian Bar Association the guests of the English Bar, at Westminster Hall, in 1924, Lord Haldane was the speaker.

[7]Some, at least, of my people followed the Old Pretender; as to "Bonnie Prince Charlie"' while some of them were loyal to the existing monarch, two were hanged for supporting the Stewart in the claim to the Crown.

[8]The French Minister, Vargennes, gave specific warning that the retention of Canada by Great Britain was certain to be followed by the independence of the American Colonies, his warning was laughed at. Benjamin Franklin in his celebrated "Canada Pamphlet", which probably had more to do with the retention of Canada than any other single agency, laughed at the idea of the Colonies being able to agree upon anything let alone independence of the Mother Country. These are now, however, old world tales.

[9]Not by any means to all the people of Britain—no few of them sympathised with the Colonies from the beginning throughout the War; moreover a very careful study by Eunice Read in "The American Historical Review" for April, 1929; ***British Public Opinion of the Peace with America in 1762,*** makes it quite clear that many in the Old Land were glad of the separation for business reasons. It is not to be forgotten that even Disraeli complained of the wretched Colonies hanging a dead weight on the neck of Britain, while Gladstone at one period, at least, of his career was of much the same opinion. Are we not too apt to forget that the New British Empire is of very modern growth?

[10]One example of the utter inability of the ordinary American to understand our constitutional position will suffice: Less than two years ago I was sitting at the table of a former Ambassador from the United States to Germany near an American whose name is a household word both in the United States and Canada. He said to me "Why do Canadian hotels refuse to accept English money?" I said:— "Why should they not? English hotels will not accept Canadian money". "But", he said, "don't you belong to England?" Then, when I explained our true constitutional posi-

tion, he said as incredulously as courtesy would admit:—"You will have great difficulty in persuading American citizens of that". I confess that I said:—"It's a matter of perfect indifference to me whether American citizens believe it or not. Canada will, no doubt, manage to worry along without the appreciation of any neighbour, even the United States". See my Article ***The Imperial Conference of 1926 and Canada,*** "The Constitutional Review", Washington, D.C,. January, 1928.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to Dr. Riddell.

CANADA'S LAND AND AIR FORCES

AN ADDRESS BY MAJ.-GEN. A. G. L. McNAUGHTON, C.M.G., D.S.O., OTTAWA.

2nd May, 1929

The speaker was introduced by PRESIDENT EAYRS and was received with applause. He spoke as follows: I deem it a very great privilege indeed to be here to-day as the guest of the Empire Club of Canada, and to have this opportunity of talking to you for a few moments about some of the work in which we are now concerned, the part that the Canadian Militia and the Canadian Air Force are playing and will play in the future, in the development of Canada's national life.

I must turn back for a moment to get a background for what I have to say. Since the armistice, as you know, the attention of the Canadian people, or what little of it could be spared from our own present problems of reconstruction and settlement of the soldiers again into civil life, has been concentrated on such organizations as the League of Nations and other like movements for establishing peace. As a people we have not devoted a great deal of attention to developing our armed forces. That, I think, is probably a natural reaction, and also I think that if we look at the part that Canadian statesmen played wherever they have come in contact with representatives of foreign powers particularly, and the way in which they have been backed up by the public and by the press, we have reason to be very proud of what we have done in the way of maintaining this will towards peace. We have supported all such movements as the Kellogg Peace Pact for that reason, because the people think that at the very least they will make wars less frequent, and any person who has had any experience of war does not want to see any more of it unless we are driven to it by dire necessity.

On the other hand, there are movements and forces in existence in the world to-day which I do not think anybody who has considered the question at all can accept as being entirely safe, making it entirely safe for a nation to be without its armed forces; and it is a matter of common knowledge that these forces are controlled by people who are antipathetic to the British Empire and entirely alien to every basis on which we wish to develop our particular type of civilization. I do not propose to argue here to-day any further as to why I think an armed force is a necessary part of national equipment in these days, but to accept it, and to tell you why I think that for Canada a citizen militia is the proper type for us to have.

It is not possible in an address of this kind to avoid all controversial subjects, and if I could express any opinions on things which have not been settled yet, I hope you will regard those opinions as my own, and not necessarily as a reflection of what the final official attitude will be, because many of these points are still in the melting pot and there must necessarily be other points of view brought to bear as well.

It seems to me that a militia organization for national defence in Canada follows naturally from the very favorable position in which we find ourselves. Geographically on the east and on the west there are wide oceans, across which no expeditionary force of dangerous strength could be transported without preliminary arrangements of such magnitude that we would have at any rate some warning. On the south, as you know, we have a great friendly nation with which we have been at peace for a hundred years and with which we have what is probably the most effective piece of arbitration legislation in existence anywhere; I refer to the Waterways Treaty of 1909. There have been thirty-odd awards under the Waterways Treaty and there has not been one case in which we can consider that we have not had in

Canada complete satisfaction and justice. I think also of our membership in the League of Nations as another one of the causes that make for safety in this country; at any rate it tends to delay. And then of course the great organization for which this club stands, the British Empire of which we are a component part. That is one of the strongest safeguards for peace. (Applause.) As far as all offensive operations are concerned, I think it must be pretty obvious to any observer of the course of Canadian national life, or the national life of the British Empire as a whole, that we are not likely to be precipitated into any wars of that nature because the Empire never goes to war unless it is driven to it. It is not offence, it is defence. So I think we can take it as an axiom that we shall be free from small wars, and if we have any great danger looming up we shall have some reasonable notice, or be able to foresee a reasonable time ahead of that danger as it comes along, and be able to adjust ourselves accordingly. In consequence of this situation, I think it is right that we should have a citizen militia, because a citizen militia is of the essence of a nucleus around which the defensive forces of a nation can be crystallized in cases of emergency. I do not think we can find justification for any large standing army in Canada. The most we require in the way of a standing army is a nucleus of instructors, and sufficient troops for the training of that nucleus and for the maintenance and other administrative duties in peace, and for the training of the non-permanent active militia, which is our citizen force. It may be that other nations of the Commonwealth, or in fact other nations of the world, who are faced with conditions which are not altogether similar to ours, need large standing armies, but I would hesitate to get up and attempt to justify placing our defence on that standing army basis in this country.

As for our war organization, whether it be commanders, staffs, or troops, we have got to look to our non-permanent active militia, and the most we can expect from our permanent force is the training in peace-time of the supplement, as they can be free for instruction purposes. The non-permanent active militia in Canada is perfectly organized as a peace establishment, in round numbers of 136,000 of all ranks. It has an actual strength of about 51,000, and last year we were able to train altogether 34,000. In general that training, as many of you know, consists of about twelve days in camp or at local headquarters, devoted to drill and elementary tactical exercises, and it is supplemented by a great many drills which are carried out without expense to the public, by voluntary effort. I may say that without great voluntary effort on the part of the individuals concerned, we would have very little chance whatsoever of maintaining the efficiency of that force. It is essentially a volunteer force. In addition to the drill, a great many courses of instruction are carried out annually, in accordance with a very comprehensive system, which has been completely revised since the war and brought up to date. Last year something over 13,000 of all ranks attended these courses of instruction and received their appropriate qualifications. That is nearly one-third of the total training strength that has been through a course of instruction of one kind or another during the current year. Personally I hope to see those numbers increased, because I believe that as a matter of policy we must concentrate on the training of young officers, N.C.O.'s and specials, and that we must not devote any of our slim resources to training more for ranks than is necessary in order to keep our unit organization intact, and in order to make sure that our training does not develop into too theoretical a character.

When you mention a force of 136,000 men to an audience like this in peace time, it sounds like a large army, but in order to get a sense of perspective I would remind you that the yearly class of young men reaching the age of 21 in Canada, is about 82,000; also in the Great War, that is, during the period of the Great War, Canada mobilized over 600,000 men, of whom over 325,000 actually proceeded overseas. So that measured in comparison with that, the peace strength of the Canadian militia cannot, I think, be considered excessive.

I turn now to the permanent force. Since the war, attention has been concentrated on the development of this corps for its instructional duties. Many of the young officers, and N.C.O.'s have been sent across to Great Britain for courses of instruction in the military schools there, where naturally they have facilities for higher military training which we could not possibly duplicate in this country. They also go over there for another reason, that is, to keep up that close liaison and close touch with the British Army of which we found the benefit in the Great War, and to which we owe the fact that we had any efficient militia at all before. (Applause.) When they return to Canada, these people who have been trained in the schools in England are used in our own military schools so that they can spread the knowledge they have gained, to the widest number of people. I may say to-day our permanent force officers are required to pass the same examinations, set and corrected by the same authorities, as officers of corresponding rank in the British Army. That is a measure of standardization throughout the Empire. I have now had some years of personal observation of our officers and N.C.O.'s, and I am personally satisfied that we have one of the most efficient instructional corps in the world. (Applause.) I have seen it here, and I have had the privilege of seeing the force not only in England, but on the Continent, within the last two years at odd times. I think our instructors need to be increased somewhat in numbers, as our militia strength increases, and that is, of course, one of our defects. I frankly admit that the con- as to draw on the class of young men we want to bring on the ranks for instructional duties to replace our older instructors as they drop out with age. It is one of the great difficulties that face us. If this nonpermanent militia of ours is to measure up to its responsibilities of being able to turn itself on reasonable notice into an army, we have got to pay attention to the tremendous development in the methods and apparatus of war which took place overseas, and which has since been continued with unrelaxed attention by every leading power in the world. Up to the present on the material side we have been able, frankly, to do very little in the Canadian militia. Under modern conditions of training these to a moderate degree of efficiency we have got to take account of all these developments, a new field and heavy gun, tanks, armoured fighting vehicles of transportation; all those things that tend to make for mobility and hitting power, and in due course we have got to pay a good deal of attention to the teaching of that side of the work to the Canadian militia. I may say that this new type of army, this elaborate equipment introduces very special conditions that we did not have to face before the war, and also it makes the supply of munitions and the keeping up of these forces,—I won't say more expensive, because I think it is not more expensive for a given power, but it requires organization—in fact I would go so far as to say that to-day, apart from the morale of the people, which I regard as the all-essential factor in a nation's fighting ability, the next most important is industrial mobilization, and the fact that we have in this country facilities for the upkeep and maintenance of these modern types of forces. Of course the armies in the field in the future will be highly technical, and they will require any number of technical personnel to see to it, and when these matters were considered, as they have been considered by the Department, the first question was where are we going to get the supplies of technical men required for these armies,—engineers, surveyors, chemists, radio operators, airmen, and all that sort of thing? A very careful review of the supplies of these men available naturally in this country was made, and it was found that with the possible exception of the air and of operators for radio telegraphy, there were more than ample supplies of people in this country with the right type of education behind them, more than ample for any force that we might be required to raise under any contingency we might consider. So on that technical side of it, it is the radio and the air that have required special attention from the Department. I will turn back to this in a moment.

I want now to say something about officers. In each of the universities in Canada we now have a contingent of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps. What the Training Corps means to Canada is this, that the young men who are receiving their education, an education to fit them to become leaders in the community, are at the same time, if they wish it, being given an opportunity to learn something about military work. It means something more than that, because it means we are turning out into the community a number of citizens for the future who know something about what war is, and if we have a body of informed citizens, we are less likely to be stampeded into a war that we otherwise might keep clear of. So I think the Officers' Training Corps has a great future and deserves the earnest support of such organizations as the Empire Club. There again we have almost complete standardization throughout the Empire, because the examinations written by these boys are set by arrangement with the War Office and the certificates we accept are equally accepted in England. So if a young mining engineer, for instance, had his education and certificate from here, if he were in South Africa and a war broke out, and he wanted to have his services used to the best advantage, all he would have to do is to present his certificate, and he would be accepted for a commission right away. That is a very important thing about our Canadian Officers' Training Corps. (Applause.)

To-day the Air Force is of course an absolutely essential arm of our defence organization, and we must have a small staff which has been skilled in the art of design of aircraft. The experience of 1917 and 1918 in Canada showed that military air training could be done in the winter, and our experience in the first few years after the war showed that most of the civil operations, with the exception of air transport, would have to be done in the summer. So we had a seasonal corps to deal with. The government considered the thing very carefully in 1923 and reached the decision that all the aviation activities of the Dominion Government were to be brought under the Department of National Defence. That decision was carried out, and since that time we have had an air force devoting its time in the summer to civil operations of constructive benefit to the community, and in the winter to its own training and the training of people to help carry on. To-day that Canadian Air Force of ours in the summer is engaged in the patrol of the forests in the Northwest Territories and in the three Prairie Provinces. They have been carrying out investigations into the spread of pine blister and wheat rust. They are doing photographic work for the Department of the Interior in connection with mapping, and generally the whole of the summer is devoted to operations which are of constructive benefit to this community. This is probably the only military air force in the world that has the opportunity of helping the community in this way.

To give you some idea of the work done last year, I jotted down a few figures. Photographs for mapping covered over 45,000 square miles of virgin territory, which will have a lot to do with the speeding up of the development of the mineral areas of the north. In the forest patrol, over 61 million acres were regularly patrolled. One hundred and six fires were reported and action taken, in cooperation with the ground forces, for their suppression. We have had one air patrol now for seven years along the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, and during the whole of that time not one single fire has got out of hand—(applause)—whereas previously there were several disastrous fires each year, and I do not need to remind this audience of what those forest fires along the foothills of the Rocky Mountains mean. It is on them, and the conservation of water there, that the fertility of the prairie wheat-growing areas almost entirely depends. I believe that not the least benefit that comes to us from this civil work of our Royal Canadian

Air Force is that our personnel are thrown into contact with the everyday problems of the community, and that they are given an opportunity to take some action that is of constructive benefit in their solution, and they are taught to measure their value in dollars and cents and to realize the value of their efficiency. In ordinary military work dollars and cents are not the measure, but human life. Of course I do not wish to be misinterpreted in what I have said about the air, by anyone assuming that I think all air operations should be under our Department. Quite the contrary. We hope to continually use our Air Force, as we have done in the last few years, for the purpose of developing and pioneering in the air, and when we get it to a certain point we hope that with the data that we have been able to get together, that the Provinces or civilian companies will take hold of this work and push it further, and let us get on to other work. Also the role which I think belongs to the Air Force is the training of a supply of personnel for the air, not only for ourselves, but for civil concerns as well, and I hope in the course of time we shall see a large development along that line. At the present moment we are training a number of people that we are turning over to civil aviation, though our facilities are not anything like adequate to meet the demand. We have a small course at Borden this summer, but the applications are four or five times the number of vacancies we have to offer. It has been almost impossible to keep pace with the demand of civil concerns. I hope the time will not be far distant when we can say we can train in Canada a sufficient number of young Canadians for Canadian flying purposes, all around. (Applause.) That training that we give is not confined to officers but we are trying also to develop a system of training for the air mechanics. That has been worked out in the closest cooperation with the technical schools. We take boys during their summer vacations and add a side of training work which cannot be done any place except at a central institution. Not the least of the advantages of that type of training, where we pick candidates from different provinces, is that we bring those boys together at a central place during the impressionable years, and give them a chance to rub shoulders and exchange views. I believe those courses have an important national influence on Canada, bringing the extremes together and rubbing off the corners.

I have considered the air service rather sketchily; the other line on which I told you we were not sufficiently provided, was radio. So the Department has had to take a special interest in the development of radio telegraphic service in this country. When the Department of National Defence was organized in 1923, all the radio communication for the air forces in their forestry work naturally fell to the lot of our forest signallers to carry out. Shortly after that there developed a need in the north country for radio communication in the Yukon Territory and down the Mackenzie, and after some negotiation and a bit of misgiving on the part of other Departments, eventually that work also was assigned to the signallers. To-day if you look at a radio map you will find that little corps of the permanent force maintains radio communication from Edmonton to Simpson, to Quebec, to Herschell Island, to Dawson and twenty or thirty other places in the north country, and already that service is beginning to pay in revenue, and a substantial amount of its cost in upkeep. We have had nothing but the most friendly comment on the work which that military organization has been able to do.

For the Air Service we have another system of radio communication, extending clear across from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and that system is helping tremendously with the spread of meteorological reports, and I have been told by meterological observers, both here, and United States people with whom we exchange information, that for that ground alone, the extra precision of the daily meteorological report, the expenditure on our northern stations was justified many times over. So that to-day as a result of the practical work which they have embarked on, we have a small corps of signallers whose proud boast it is that it has installed, designed, and operated this complete network of stations covering the whole of Canada. (Applause.)

In the time at my disposal to-day I have been able only to sketch briefly some of the many activities in which the Department of National Defence is engaged, but I hope I have said enough so that people will realize that the attitude of that Department is not militaristic in the usual sense of the word, but that it is inspired by the desire to serve this country in every way in its power. (Applause.)

The thanks of the Club were tendered to the speaker by Col. Alexander Fraser.

BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS WITH CANADA

Synopsis of An Address by SIR ROBERT DONALD, G. B. E., LL.D., etc.

9th May, 1929

Sir Robert expressed the opinion that there was little chance of British industry reconquering the markets of Continental Europe. He saw that a break would be made with Great Britain's fiscal traditions. We must, he said: Get into closer relations with the Dominions. While economic conferences pass resolutions in favour of lowering tariffs, delegates return home and vote for raising them. There are many more tariffs in Europe than there were in 1913 and they are all higher. The English people have not yet readjusted their perspective to the new situation. Economically the Continent of Europe is a collection of armed citadels against British goods.

We must turn more and more to the Dominions and the Empire. British manufacturers and merchants do not study the requirements in the Dominions or adapt themselves to Canadian conditions as they ought in our common interests to do. They should visit Canada more frequently, understand that Canadians have their own characteristics which we must recognize and conform to your customs and methods. The businesslike and logical course is for them to establish branches in Canada, and place them in charge of men on the spot. The Canadian market is growing more rapidly than any market in the British Empire, and we should cultivate it to our mutual advantage.

We should have closer interchange in all directions. Our Government can help more than it does. It should, for instance, participate in your Canadian National

Exhibition. I understand that the present intention of our Exhibition Branch is to concentrate on the Argentine this year. The Argentine is all right, but we should first cultivate trade with the Dominions, and I will do what I can to advocate participation in your Exhibition. (Cheers.)

I am convinced, Sir Robert continued, that we can greatly increase our trade with Canada if we go the right way about it. We have your sympathy (hear, hear), and you have ours. Sentiment does count for something in trade, especially if it is backed up by mutual understanding. You had a demonstration last year of sentimental preference in the exhibition of the Empire Marketing Board.

Out of the clouds of depression hovering over British industry, Sir Robert drew some very bright rays. The dyeing trade has reached a standard of efficiency that has made it supreme. While depression was still general in England, there were fortunate signs of revival.

The coal trade is not in the hopeless state which it appears to be. Apart from new processes for the utilization of coal, which are working successfully, what is wanted is the grouping of coal fields and better selling organization. With combined effort English coal can reconquer some of its lost markets.

With cheaper electric power generated at the pit heads and distributed over wide areas, there will be something like an industrial revolution. To ease the burden of taxation, the Baldwin Government proposes to relieve industry of seventy-five per cent. of local taxation. Americans realize the new opportunities for investment in England and are coming into our electrical and other industries. Great Britain itself in this, and in many other respects, is not by any means fully developed. We are only beginning to cultivate reciprocal trade with the Dominions and to develop the large number of colonies for which the British Government is responsible. Every year the Empire is becoming nearer to being self-sustaining for raw material, cotton, copper, tin and other products indispensable for industry.

Sir Robert's observations were accorded a full measure of support by members of the Club. In tendering thanks Mr. John A. Tory, president of the Board of Trade of Toronto, said that the Address was very timely in view of the tariff revisions projected by our neighbour to the South. There was none here to-day who did not believe that the future of Canada was tied up with the British Empire. From observation made as president of the Board of Trade he was able to assure Sir Robert that there is a movement in Ontario at the present time ditions of service in the permanent force are not such that will not be stopped until we have a greater Empire trade than is now in existence. (Cheers.)

BRITISH IMPERIAL INTERESTS

AN ADDRESS BY RIGHT HONORABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL, C. H., M.P.

(Before a joint meeting of The Empire Club, The Canadian Club, and the Board of Trade.

The President of the Canadian Club, MR. A. SCRIPTURE, was in the chair. He called upon Mr. Hugh Eayrs, the President of the Empire Club, to introduce Mr. Churchill. Mr. Eayrs said, "The guest of honour, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Winston Churchill follows logically in the distinguished line of ambassadors of Empire who have come to Toronto within recent months. We have had the Rt. Hon. Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Rt. Hon. Col. Amery, Sir Austin Chamberlain, and that ambassador extraordinary His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. And now we have Mr. Churchill. No man has served his country and the Empire better. He has held practically every important portfolio in a number of ministries in England. He has not yet been Prime Minister. I imagine he is saving that for a little later on. As a statesman, as a soldier, as an author, and historian, his services have been signal, but it is rather for his personal qualities than for his achievements that one commends him to this audience. And for one quality in particular, that of personal courage. Dr. Johnson says "He that hath not this virtue hath no security for the preservation of any other." And so gentlemen here is the Rt. Hon. Mr. Winston Churchill, the gentleman of courage."

MR. CHURCHILL spoke as follows, after being received with applause and cheers: Mr. President, Your Honour, and Gentlemen, here in Toronto I feel in one of the vital nerve centres of the British Empire. (Applause.) Here is a stronghold of the United Empire Loyalists.

Here too are many of those who have cherished affection and affinities with Northern Ireland, with Ulster. I have had many ups and downs with Ulster. I remember in the bitter party struggles which in Great Britain preceded the Great War, that I had a quarrel with Ulster, but I have been forgiven. (Laughter.) I have renewed a friendship with Ulster that I might have inherited from my father, and I know that when Ulstermen make friends, they make them for a long time.

I am going to speak to you to-day upon some subjects of general interest to patriotic British citizens in every part of His Majesty's domain. Let me begin by saying what I said at Montreal, do not form too gloomy an opinion of the strength and prosperity of the Mother Country. (Hear, hear, and applause.) You know what English people are, how they always criticize themselves and dwell on the dark side of their affairs, and so from time to time are able to make improvements, and correct errors and abuses in their way of carrying on. But it is absolutely necessary that on this side of the Atlantic Ocean there should be no misconception of the giant strength of Britain. (Hear, hear and applause.) Never before this present year have there been so many people in the Islands, never before have they been so well fed, never before have there been so many people employed in the Islands, and never before, except in the temporary convulsions of the war, have their real wages constituted a greater reward for their exertion. (Applause.) We have paid our debts—(Hear, hear and applause)—we are paying our way, we are providing for the carrying of our national debt and for its extinction in fifty years, no less than 350 million sterling per annum. (Applause.) Taxation is faithfully collected and faithfully paid. We are still the greatest creditor nation in the world. (Applause.) We have repaired since the war the ravages upon our foreign investments, which the war created, and to-day our holdings overseas throughout the Empire and in foreign lands stand substantially higher than at any period in our history.

(Applause.) We have enormous difficulties. We have immense and intricate problems. But we are facing our difficulties, we are driving through our problems and if I come here to talk to this great buoyant expanding city of Canada, I wish to present myself before you as a citizen of a country which old as she is, developed as she is, explored as she has been for so many generations, is nevertheless growing steadily in wealth, in power, in knowledge, and in strength. (Applause.)

I said also at Montreal that the first interest of the British Empire was peace. (Hear, hear and applause.) We have all that we require. We have coveted no man's territory, we are jealous or envious of no man's glory. We have our own repute, our own interests, our vast possessions in every corner of the globe, under every sky and clime, we have resources sufficient to occupy all the energy and skill of all our peoples for generations and centuries to come. We envy no one. We have a great inheritance, and we are content to develop that. All we require for its development from others, is peace, and that, I believe, is in no danger at the present time. (Applause.) Peace, I believe, is securely established, and I think Mr. Hoover was quite right in saying the prospects of peace were better than they had been for fifty years. Peace, I mean, between the great civilized nations of the world. I do not mean what disturbances may occur in barbarous parts of the world where the Russian Bolsheviks come in contact with other nations; but as far as the great civilized powers are concerned, I believe the foundations of peace are stronger now than they have ever been in our lifetime. (Applause.)

But, gentlemen, we must be careful of one thing. Subversive propaganda takes many different forms and disguises, and we must be careful that the love of peace, the sincere resolve to maintain peace, which is so universal through all the nations which felt the wounds of the Great War, we must be careful that that love of peace is not used as a cloak to press forward proposals which would weaken or injure the enduring strength of the British Empire. (Hear, hear and applause.) We must be careful that subversive movements do not effectually masquerade in the cause of pacificism and philanthropy. I dare say you have seen for yourselves how again and again certain classes of people go about to coax, cajole, cozen, and if they could, coerce the British Empire into giving up its rights, its interests and instruments of its vital security. (Applause.) Our first security is the navy. (Applause.) Our first security under Providence, and our righteous behaviour, is the Royal Navy. We have long enjoyed the naval supremacy of the world. We did not abuse that supremacy. We laid our ports open—those that were under the control of the central government—to the trade of all nations as well as of our own. We swept the seas of the slave trader, we used our influence for peace during the whole of the 19th century, and when the 20th century dawned it was the British Navy that proved the sure shield of freedom and civilization, and it was the British Navy that enabled the great republic of the United States to bring its influence to bear upon the closing phases of the war. (Applause.) After the war was over, we agreed in the Washington Conference of 1921 that the two great branches of the English-speaking world, the British Empire and the United States, should have equal battle fleets, and in that sense be equal powers upon the seas, but we carefully and specifically reserved the programmes of cruisers and small craft, for this reason that our conditions are so utterly different from those of the United States that it was evident that in this defensive sphere of trade protection was required a different measure and different method of defence than they did. There never were two nations, two countries, more differently situated and circumstanced from the point of view of naval danger than the United States and Great Britain. The United States is almost a continent. It possesses within its bounds everything that is required to minister to its prosperity and life. We are a small, densely populated island with the need of importing three-quarters of the food we eat across salt water, and most of our raw material; and we are also the centre of an Empire which circles the globe, the only material connection between the component parts of which is the uninterrupted passage of ships across the seas. We are close to Europe, involved in all its dangers, though we keep as clear of them as we can, whereas the United States may rejoice in having thousands of miles of ocean between her and any enemy or danger, however speculative or impossible that danger may appear. I say there is an immense disparity of conditions between the two parties in this matter; and to apply a mere cheap logic, numerical parity to conditions which are in themselves so fundamentally disparate is not to arrive at what I am willing to arrive at, what I think we are entitled and justified in seeking, namely that the British Empire and the United States should be equal powers upon the sea; we should not arrive at that goal, the true goal, but arrive at the position where under the pretense of a power equality, Great Britain would be in fact relegated to permanent inferiority on the seas. (Applause.) That is a result, I earnestly hope, we may avoid. And moreover let me say, why should we feel anxious about the American naval program? We know perfectly well that whatever ships they may think it right to build will never be used against us. We are sure of that (Applause.) We know that our course and conduct will be such that no quarrels will arise; we know that the ties of friendship and commerce are linking us year by year more closely to each other, and have we not just signed in the Kellogg Pact a solemn instrument regulating the future peace of the world, and finally and definitely outlawing war as a feature in the policy of civilized states. Let us therefore labour to get a satisfactory agreement with the United States, and if that agreement cannot be reached, let us make a friendly agreement to go our ways in peace and in friendship, acting in a sober, reasonable, and neighbourly fashion, and building no more vessels than we each think we require for our own purposes and at our own discretion. (Applause.)

There is another instance where subversive activities inside the British Empire tend to work injury to our imperial interests. I take the case of Egypt, and I am sure you would wish me to say a few words upon that burning topic to-day. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Let us look back and see why it was we went to Egypt. We went to Egypt because Egypt was in a state of chaos and bankruptcy and languishing under a harsh Oriental despotism. We went to Egypt because Egypt has always been to a very large extent a matter of European and international concern. The men of every race in Europe have connections and business interests in Egypt, and the condition of chaos in that country was intolerable. But if any country went there, it was most necessary that the predominant power should be Great Britain, because of the Suez Canal which is our vital connection with India and with Australia and New Zealand. We went to Egypt, and nearly fifty years have passed since we went. Every phase of Egyptian life has been improved. The cruel tyranny has been lifted from the Egyptian peasant; their water supplies have been enormously developed; the wealth of the country has gone ahead always, the wealth of this country, the oldest in the world, has gone forward almost as if it were in the new world, in Canada. A marvelous work, to which we are entitled to look back with pride and satisfaction. Our responsibilities in Egypt are direct. We have responsibilities for the protection of foreigners, of foreign powers; we have a responsibility for the protection of minorities. All these responsibilities have been accepted by us before all the world, and I ask this: No one can say I am an enemy of self-government, I have been responsible myself for actually conducting through the House of Commons the two most daring experiments in self-government that any country has made—the Transvaal Constitution in 1906, and the Irish Free State Constitution in 1921. (Applause.) I ask myself gravely, are the Egyptians more capable of giving good government to Egypt, of creating those conditions of stability and order in Egypt which Europe requires, than they were in 1881? Certainly in so far as we have handed over in late years services to the Egyptians, for them to administer, and have withdrawn the guidance of parliamentary control, we have seen a marked deterioration in those services, whether they be services of irrigation or of other forms of public work throughout Egypt. And I am bound to say that it is only four years ago that the conditions in Cairo were those of incipient disorder of a very grave kind; murder and conspiracy were rife, and foreign communities expressed the deepest anxiety as to their personal and individual security. Well, what is it that is now proposed? It is proposed that the British garrisons should be withdrawn from Cairo and Alexandria, they should evacuate those centres of control where they served as the foundation for a beneficent and ameliorating influence upon Egyptian affairs, that they should be withdrawn and that we should dig ourselves in along the Suez Canal, leaving Egypt to go if she pleases to wrack and ruin; and that at the same time we should forbid any one power to come effectively to her aid. I know well that this policy has come into force by gradual steps during the last eight or nine years, and I must admit that the late government went a long way in this direction. But when we survey the position as a whole, when we look at the scene in its full compass and extent, I am bound to say I feel the gravest misgivings about the proposals which have recently been made. It seems to me a weak policy, a selfish policy, and in a sense a dog-in-the-manger policy; it is certainly a melancholy abdication of duty which we owed not only to the citizens of the various states of Europe, but which we also owe to the Egyptian peasantry itself, and I cannot believe that such a policy, if it should be adopted, will be found to have a permanent continuation. Parliament has yet to decide, and it has been definitely promised by the present British administration that the Dominions shall be consulted. Australia and New Zealand have a vital interest, because the Suez Canal is the actual channel of communication which joins them to the Motherland, and Europe, and they have a right to be heard because it was Australian and New Zealand troops which defended Egypt and held the line of the Canal against the Turkish invaders. (Applause.) Gentlemen, the British Government has promised that the Dominions shall be consulted and that Parliament shall know what their views are before it has to take the decision which will be asked of it in the autumn. And I would venture to say this: it seems a long way from Toronto to Cairo, but Canada has an interest as a partner in the Empire in the decision of these great matters. Anything that happens injuriously to the interests of Australia and New Zealand must affect Canadian interests and Canadian sentiment. (Hear, hear.) Anything that affects the welfare of the whole affects the welfare of every part. Canada should have her opinion upon this subject of Egypt too. (Applause.)

Now I come to another stage in connections between the Mother Country and Australia, I come to Singapore. What is Singapore? It is a resting place, a fuelling place, for the British Fleet, to enable the British Fleet to go, if need be, to the rescue of Australia and New Zealand. That is what Singapore is for and that is the only thing it is for. People have suggested that it is a menace to Japan, but we always have the most friendly relations with Japan. No conceivable quarrel could arise between us and Japan. But our Empire must be buckled together by some effective lines of communication, and unless the British Fleet has this half-way house where it can rest and refresh and base itself, the contact is lost between Australia and New Zealand, and the Motherland and the rest of the Empire. Australia and New Zealand and the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong have made contributions to the building of this harbour, which exceed those which the Mother Country has made up to the present time. And I say to stop that work, to arrest this task in which the Empire has been engaged, just because there is a change of Government in the Mother Country, would be a disastrous set-back. We all remember what the Anzacs did in the Great War. (Applause.) And you, many of whom no doubt served in the Canadian Corps, you know what a comfort it was to find those valiant troops not far away, and ready to come into action in aid of the Canadian Corps. They came to our aid, and I say we must make sure that if they were in trouble, if anything arose which endangered those communities far away in the Pacific, under the Southern Cross, we must be sure that we could come to their aid with all the strength that we could muster. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I spoke at Ottawa yesterday upon Empire trade. What can we do to make more of it, to keep more business, to make business flow more easily, within the circle of the British Empire? What can we do to make the Dominions of the Crown more consciously a single economic unit? and even perhaps, to some extent, and as far as possible, a single fiscal unit? That is an urgent question. You know from your own experience how important it is that we should find means of handling large blocks of each other's business, much larger blocks than we have heretofore. (Hear, hear.) Now there are some things we cannot do. I will give you my opinion as a politician of thirty years' experience in the United Kingdom. I am sure that it would fatally injure the prospects of any political party in Great Britain if they were to declare their intention of taxing food. On the other hand I think it is more than we could ask of Australia and of Canada that they should throw down their tariff protection on their manufactures and expose themselves freely to the competition of our extremely robust and long-established British industries. But that by no means exhausts the possibilities. Modern business sees the means of new solutions for old problems, and I say a way must be found. Where there is a will there is a way. Do not let us be deterred by difficulties. I have made a practical proposal; it is a very modest proposal. I proposed yesterday, and I repeat it here, that the leading business men, the great captains of industry, four or five men, who would be judged to be the outstanding figures in developing the economic life of Canada, or of Australia, or of South Africa, should meet together with the leaders of British industry, and that they should quietly and soberly examine the whole problem upon its merits, without any thought of party politics or what party is going to get the credit of it, or who is going to score over the other man in any election in Great Britain, but that they should look at it as a business proposition, just as men would do if they were brought together on a Board of Directors to see what could best be done for what is after all the greatest merger that has ever been thought of in human experience. (Hear, hear and applause.) Then when they are able to say in what ways they consider intra-imperial trade could be fostered and developed, when we have their plan before us, then will be the time for the parliaments and parties to consider what they will do, and then will be the time for the Imperial Conference to ratify as much as is possible of a practical scheme. Now it seems to me that these are the sensible steps that can immediately be taken, and I say, do not let us be appalled by difficulties. Let us push forward and tackle the difficulties by practical methods. After all, look what difficulties we have overcome in the past. When I was a schoolboy at Harrow I heard a lecture from a countryman of yours, I believe he came from this city, Sir George Parkin. He lectured on the subject of Empire Unity and Federation, and I sat, a little boy in an Eton jacket, and listened to his words. I remember that he said that at the Battle of Trafalgar, Nelson had set the signal flying "England expects that every man this day will do his duty." Oh, he said, if you take the steps that are necessary to bind together and hold together the great Empire to the Crown, and if at some future time danger and peril strikes at the heart and life of that Empire, then the signal will run, not along a line of battle ships but a line of nations.

That is what Sir George Parkin said. I did not see him for 25 years or more and when I saw him it was at a banquet—not so large as this, indeed, but one of those great celebrations held to rejoice that victory had been won in the greatest of all wars, and that peace was now restored. And I went across the room to him and I said do you remember the words you spoke thirty years ago in your lecture, and he remembered that. All his dreams had come true, the dreams and hopes that no one would have dared even to breathe in many quarters before the war have been accomplished as actual facts. Miracles, as they would have been regarded by Victorian statesmen, have happened as the inevitable results of circumstancs. The Empire has passed through the fire of war; the signal for help, the signal to arms was prepared along a line of nations which surround the world; and if ever again a peril loomed upon us we are confident it would be repeated again. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I have spoken to you about the importance of fostering intra-imperial trade, but there are other and far stronger bonds which unite the British Empire. Mr. Disraeli said, and it was one, I think, of his most notable sayings, "There are only two ways of governing peoples—force, and tradition. "A pregnant saying. In the British Empire we rely upon tradition. After the Imperial Conference of 1927, there is nothing to hold the British Empire together except its own interests and the far stronger connections of good will and good sense, sentiment and tradition operating in perfect freedom. Those are ties incomprehensible to some of our European neighbours which have proved in the past strong enough to draw half a million men three thousand miles across the ocean from Canada to the bloody battle fields of Europe. Those are the ties that have drawn one-tenth of the population of the whole of New Zealand half way around the world to fight in the Empire's cause. Invisible but indissoluble ties. We may trust to them, we may trust to them as the years go by to gain and grow in strength and force. We may trust to them to enable the wonderful association of states and of peoples, the like of which the world has never seen, our commonwealth of free nations; they will enable us to tread the path of destiny hand in hand and side by side, sure that whatever the future may have in store, union and freedom will lead the Empire to safety, and will keep us at least the equal of any organization known to man. (Long applause.)

Mr. John Tory, President of the Toronto Board of Trade, expressed to the speaker the thanks of the gathering, after which the meeting gave three cheers for Mr. Churchill.

BRITAIN'S INTERESTS IN THE EAST

An Address by the RIGHT HONOURABLE L. C.
M.S. AMERY, Ex-Secretary of State for the
British Overseas Dominions.

20th September, 1929

Mr. Eayrs, the President of the Club introduced Mr. Amery who said: The origin of Great Britain's interests in the Middle East and the history of her work for the benefit of the peoples of the near Orient was traced in a very lucid and informative manner by the distinguished speaker. He showed how the peoples of Asia Minor, once the founders of civilization, and the leaders of civil and industrial activity, had retrogressed after the Mongolian invasion whch had killed and destroyed in a wholesale manner wherever it prevailed.

Since the building of the Suez Canal forced Britain to take a commercial interest in Egypt, Britain had been gradually drawn into the work of restoring to these peoples something of their lost grandeur, their irrigation canals, their engineering works, and efficient self-government, so that, to-day, they were being brought slowly to a state where they would be able to look after themselves without tutelage.

The Iraks were likely to enter the League of Nations in two or three years, and in Palestine there was being built up a Palestinian patriotism in which Jew and Arab would live and work together for their common country, as English and French do in the province of Quebec and in other parts of Canada. These developments showed that the Old Country was not played out by the great war, but had been laying the foundations of a greater British Empire than ever existed before.

The middle east might appear of less interest to Canadians than to other parts of the Empire. Neither from the point of view of trade nor security was Canada affected by it to the same extent as were the Dominions on the other side of the Suez Canal. But whatever affected the safety of the Empire as a whole interested all parts of it.

We are dealing there, he said, with peoples of an ancient civilization. From these peoples, the world received all its modern science and knowledge. All modern religions practically had their origin there, and the early foundations of modern art were also to be found there. He had seen artistic work, which in its simplicity and pure beauty are equal to anything Greece and Rome had produced, and yet these works of art had been produced by peoples living 1,800 years before Abraham walked the plains. The popular idea of Bible history has been unfortunately distorted by the pictures in children's books, drawn by people who had only casually visited the land of Palestine, and had never realized that Abraham came from a great city and travelled among the great cities, and might have been much more of a financier than a simple shepherd. Similarly the ideas of the Palestine in which Christianity was born, were distorted in the same manner. The rural, farming and shepherd country that is Palestine to-day is nothing like the busy commercial and industrial network of cities which constituted Judea and Samaria and Galilee in those days, before invading Mongols scattered and destroyed everything. When Baghad was captured by the Mongols there were 2,000,000 skulls piled up, and the great irrigation works there were destroyed. From then on, the middle east went back, and the rounding of the route round Cape Horn by Vasco di Gama removed interest in the middle east as the route to the Orient, and barbarism soon reigned supreme in Arabia.

The first man to revive ideas of the utilization of the middle east as part of the world's civilization again, was Napoleon, but not until the Suez Canal was built did the middle east become so important that Britain found it dangerous to risk a condition where it might fall into the hands of powers hostile to Britain. It was such a probability that made it necessary for Britain to straighten out Egypt's crumbling, bankrupt finances, and establish order and justice. Lord Cromer did wonderful work along these lines, while great engineers created and re-established irrigation works. Lord Kitchener re-organized the Egyptian army. Lord Milner re-established Egyptian finances. Up to the Great War, no country in the world was making such progress as Egypt. But with prosperity came forgetfulness. There arose a generation that knew not Joseph. And a vigorous nationalism arose. In the meantime, the British Government felt that they had built up works which they could not abandon. They could not abandon the Suez Canal. They could not drop the work of regeneration they had started in the Sudan. Apart from such points as these, however, the British Government was anxious to give the greatest possible measure of self-government to the people of Egypt, an evidence of which was that a new treaty was awaiting ratification by the parliament of Egypt. Mr. Amery himself had doubts, he said, as to the wisdom of some of the provisions of that treaty. But he wished to stress the point that Britain's efforts were steadily working toward the greatest freedom and autonomy.

In the northeast section, near the Persian border, Britain had been carrying on a great work of civilization. Near the oilfields, the British troops, welcomed by the Arabs, pushed forward through the Irak and delivered the people from Turkish government. But Britain promised that they would see to it that a free Irak government was built up. That brought new and greater difficulties and responsibilities. They had to oppose the demands of Turkey, to prevent them taking away the Mosul, the richest part of Irak territory. We succeeded, and we pledged to help and guide the Iraks until they were fit to go into the League of Nations. That will soon be consummated for Britain had promised to support Irak's entry into the League in 1932. This work has meant enormous military commitments, but thanks to Mr.

Winston Churchill's brilliant idea, the Irak is now being effectively policed by squadrons of airplanes, instead of several battalions of land troops.

In the effort to create an Arab nation, the British authorities have found it difficult to find a ground of unity or co-operation among the scattered, disgruntled Arab tribes. They found a man around whom the Arabs would rally, in the person of King Feisal of Mecca and with the help of British advisers the work of binding the Arabs together has gone on very successfully and has at the same time bound the Arabs closer to Great Britain.

Referring to Palestine Mr. Amery paid tribute to the fine mobile strategy of General Allenby, who fought his way to Jerusalem and reconquered the Holy Land. The British Government was then faced with the problem of regenerating that wasted country, and also to create a home for the Jews. It had never been intended to build up an exclusively Jewish state there, to the elimination of all other races and languages. That could not be done with justice to the Arab races. But it was the intention to make Palestine a place where Jews might be as free, as much at home as French-Canadians are in Canada. It is true, not one-tenth of the Jews in the world can ever get into Palestine to live, but Palestine may be to the Jews, what Scotland is to the millions of Scots scattered all over the world.

Through the Zionist movement Britain has enlisted half of the Jews all over the world in the work of regenerating Palestine, and this is helping much in bringing east and west together. There are difficulties of impatience on the part of Jews, and fear on the part of Arabs. But this work nevertheless, has been effective in bringing these two people together. That country once derelict, abandoned, wasted, is now progressive, equipped with good roads, with hygienic services, with engineers working to establish big industrial development, fever stricken swamps are being drained, irrigated and put to raise grain in big quantities, with malaria and other diseases stamped out, and Jew and Arab are cultivating the land, side by side. True, the recent explosion of religious passion has given a set back to the growth of a common Palestinian patriotism between Jew and Arab, but this is, I am sure, only a temporary outbreak. In past centuries every trifle, such as the position of a candle on an altar would give rise to religious riots between Arab fanatics, but I am certain Britain will go on with her good work until sectarianism and fanaticism will give way to common patriotism between Arabs and Jews, as citizens of Palestine. I must pay tribute to the many Englishmen who have gone there in the Great War, and stayed behind after it, to help in rebuilding a new and progressive, modern and civilized middle east. Britain has done this work while facing enormous problems at home. And the success of this work shows that the Old Country is not at all played out by the War, but is steadily working toward the consummation of the great ideal of gathering together all corners of the empire with the united object of making the most of her as yet unfathomed resources.

The warm appreciation of the Club was conveyed to Mr. Amery by the President.

BRITAIN'S PART IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

An Address by MR. LIONEL CURTIS.

23rd September, 1929

The President, Mr. Eayrs, was in the chair and introduced the speaker, who was received with applause and spoke as follows: I happen to be passing through Canada at this moment as a member of a party led by Lord Elsher, the late Lord Chancellor, which party, in company with a number of Canadians, is on its way to Kioto to what is called The Pacific Conference. As you were good enough to invite me to address you to-day, I thought the best thing I could do was to tell you, so far as is possible in the time available, what is the background behind that Pacific Conference, and how it came about that we are on our way there.

I think that Conference began in 1925 in Honolulu. A number of good people there connected with the Y.M.C.A. got it into their heads that the shadow of war which had been the curse of Europe might fall across that island of the Hesperides in the middle of the Pacific. The very idea seemed to them so horrible that they conceived the notion of gathering parties of private people, having nothing whatever to do with governments, from various countries around the Pacific, in order that they might get together on that beautiful island and form such personal relations as they felt would neutralize the growth of any spirit of hostility between the various peoples surrounding the Pacific. The pivot of that movement was a man whose name is probably known to you, Dr. Wilbur, who was then head of Leland Stanford University in California, who is perhaps the most intimate friend of President Hoover and who is now Secretary of the Interior in President Hoover's cabinet, a man in my opinion of outstanding ability. The Conference met, if not under Y.M.C.A. auspices, under the influence of Y.M.C.A. ideas, and I think the notion was that a great deal of good fellowship would be made by these people getting together. It so happened that before the Conference met at Honolulu there occurred that deplorable Shanghai incident, in which some Chinese students lost their lives, and it resulted in a complete and widespread boycott of British trade all through China. The Chinese Nationalists who were coming to that Conference at Honolulu arrived in a white hot temper. Incidentally Great Britain and British policy was in the dark. The theory was that from Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who were all represented at that Conference, there were plenty of British subjects to defend Britain and British policy. But the fact had been overlooked by the Americans who convened the Conference, that it was difficult, or even impossible, for anyone not constantly living in London to know and foreknow the details of British policy in China and the Far East. The result was that there was no one qualified to put the British side of the story. Britain and British policy remained in the dark, and at the end of the three weeks' Conference they proceeded to discuss holding the second Conference in 1297. The representatives from three Dominions, Canada, Australia and New Zealand then refused to come to a second conference in 1927 unless the Executive extended to Great Britain an invitation to send to that conference people who were acquainted with British policy in the Far East, and were qualified to explain, and if necessary, to defend. That was why at the end of 1926 President Hoover began to look about to see to whom he could address that invitation for Great Britain. By the constitution of the Institute of Pacific Relations, he was precluded from addressing that invitation to any government. It was a non-governmental conference and organization. He therefore made enquiries and came to the conclusion that the best body to whom he could extend that invitation was the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

That brings me to the Royal Institute, and I must here assume a rather more personal and intimate note in explaining to you how and why it was that in 1927 there was such an organization to which President Hoover could extend that invitation. I must go back exactly twenty years. There were some of us who were with Lord Milner in asking for the Union of South Africa, as the only possible consummation of British policy in that country. We had done it with our eyes open; we had done it knowing that the Union of South Africa meant that during our lifetimes at any rate, that country would be governed by the men whom we had been fighting in the South African War. We knew of the difficult and dangerous problems which it would raise for us as British subjects, but we believed it was the only British course to take and we took it, and having taken it, when the Act was passed through the Imperial Parliament in 1909, we determined, some of us, to come to the oldest and most experienced of the Dominions and put our difficulties in front of people whom we hoped to meet here, and ask them for their counsel with regard to these difficulties. I arrived here myself in 1909 with Philip Corley (?) Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, and Sir William Morris, who afterwards united the provinces in India. From that time, twenty years ago, I date some of the best friendships, the closest friendships of my subsequent life. I would like to dwell on nothing else, if we had time, but those friendships. One name alone I mention at this stage, that of Edward Keilly (?) by whose grave some of us here stood in 1916 at Lindsay. We crossed this continent to Victoria and came back, and by that time we had a group of fast friends, many of whom were in Toronto. One night after we had come back we were meeting in Willison's house and we discussed from beginning to end the nature of our troubles in South Africa. Here we were; we saw the shadow of a war with Germany impending. We ourselves had been instrumental in bringing a change in South Africa which meant that we were going to be governed by the men we had fought in the South African War, and we put the question of what our position would be in South Africa if in the course of a war with Germany that government were to declare its neutrality. It brought us right up against the imperial problem. We discussed it the whole evening, and our Canadian friends there, and Willison in particular, felt there was no straight-out answer to that problem, which many of our Canadian friends said was also their problem. The one thing which was plain to us all was that we must make it the subject of study, and I can remember Willison hitting the table and saying "Let us do something right here and now" and it was in the course of that evening that we agreed that we would do our best to establish study groups in the various Dominions of the Empire, who would work together to elucidate this problem, and the magazine which has since been published as "The Round Table", was projected that night by Willison as the necessary link between these study groups in the various Dominions. The result was that from 1909-10 inwards until the war broke out, there were a number of groups, one of the most vigorous of which was in Toronto, earnestly studying the problems of British citizenship. And after the war, over which I leap to the Peace Conference of 1919, I was called to the Peace Conference as a member of the League of Nations group under Lord Robert Cecil. When I got there it seemed as if there had been a Round Table conspiracy; there were the men with whom I had been working before and during the war all over the Empire. The reason was simple. Those four or five years of methodical research before the war broke out had fitted those men for the kind of work the government needed in the crisis and it called them to their aid and brought them as advisors to the Conference in Paris in 1919.

I am not going into the results of the Peace Conference, only one of the minor by-products. There were gathered together in the Hotel Majestic several hundred men, not merely officials but people like myself who were not officials, who had been brought there by the different governments all over the Empire because they had some special knowledge of some particular branch of international affairs, which might at any moment be needed by the ministers representing the various parts of the Empire at Paris. We were in very close touch with the American delegation who were at the Hotel Gruen (?) and we and they both began to feel the same need. We felt, you may end the war in Paris, but the making of peace is going to take the rest of our lives, and the keeping of the peace the rest of everybody's lives; it is not merely a question of governments; we have got past that stage. It is the job of every thinking man to keep the peace, and you cannot do any job worth doing in life unless you know how to do it. The knowledge you need in keeping the peace of nations is a knowledge of a subject matter which changes from hour to hour and day to day. Now in this great gathering at the Hotel Majestic in Paris we had for the first time an organization through which, if you wanted to know anything about any aspect to international affairs, you could find someone in the Hotel Majestic who was a first rate authority on it. We said, here is something we have got to perpetuate, and we began to realize that there are functions in politics, and in international politics, which government departments, because they are government departments, cannot fulfil. Take the Foreign Office; the function of the Foreign Office is to advise the government of the day, but if you and I want to know what we ought to think and do in international affairs—unimportant as it may seem, it is not unimportant in the aggregate—we at that time had no organization through which we could study these problems; and unless you have an organization, in this complicated world you cannot study problems of tha magnitude. The thing that astounded us was that when we looked through directories we found that in London there was some organization for the study of almost every conceivable branch of human knowledge but one, and that was international affairs. There was no organization for such studies, and we determined then and there, that the people in the Hotel Majestic and our American friends in the Hotel Gruen (?) would constitute ourselves a permanent institute on international affairs.

I want to say two things about that. There was one thing which precipitated that movement. We realized how important it was that the history of the Peace Conference should be written by the men who had done the spade work, while their memories were fresh. Now while the Admiralty could produce an official history of the war at sea, and the War Office could produce an official history of the war on land, it was quite impossible that the Foreign Office should attempt to produce a history of the making of peace; and yet it was essential that in future there should be some authoritative record of what was happening at Paris. And it was that which precipitated the actual foundation of the Institute of International Affairs in Paris in the Hotel Majestic, the necessity of getting a history of the Peace Conference written, and it was written in six volumes and is now and must always remain the standard work on the subject.

In regard to the constitution of this Institute there are two things I want to say. In the first place we Round Table people had a piece of experience. We were perfectly right that night in Toronto in saying that before you think of propaganda you must have study and research. Now I make no bones about it, the men who met in Willison's house that night were men who believed that their first duty in life was to keep the British Empire together. We were imperialists. But we said, we have got to make it the subject of research, and as we went on we found this difficulty, that in political affairs to make research complete you want to get around the table people of every point of view, and especially people of the point of view from which you most differ. Now we found in the Round Table organization, just because the men who originated it were people who felt that the British Empire must be held together, that we could not get on those groups the people who in all sincerity—they were more common then than they are to-day I believe—who believed that the British Empire ought to be broken up into pieces. We learned this lesson, which I just want to repeat to you now because I think it is so important, that if you want to conduct genuine study and research in political affairs, you must separate it absolutely from propaganda in any shape or form, for the reason that the moment you have got any touch of propaganda connected with your studies, you exclude the people opposed to that propaganda. That was why there was written into the charter of what is now the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the fundamental principle that the Institute as such can express no opinion whatever on any question of policy. Its members are free to express their opinion; they join the Institute that they may be intelligent and well-informed opinions. The Institute as such can have no policy whatever. The other point is also an importnat one. We look forward to a time when the Dominion members in different parts of the Empire, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, would hive off and form the Canadian Institute, as they have done, the Australian Institute, as they have done, and the relations of those institutes to the Institute in London was to be just the same exactly as the relation of the different parts of the Empire to one another. I, as a member of the Institute in London, when I am in Canada, am a full member of the Canadian Institute. A member of the Canadian Institute, like Sir Joseph Flavelle, or Sir Robert Borden, when he is in London, is a full member at Chatham House.

Now I take another jump to 1923 when my old friend Col. Leonard, whose acquaintance I first made twenty years ago, not half a mile from where we are talking now, came over to visit us in London. He saw what we were doing, and he told us that he had been waiting all his life to help forward in some very definite way an imperial movement, and he had come to the conclusion that this fitted in with his views more than anything else, this organization which enabled all parts of the Empire to join and study that which undoubtedly was common to them, their relations to each other and to the world around. I am coming back to the subject later, but it was his idea of housing that Institute in this beautiful and historic house in St. James' Square, which has mainly enabled all that has happened since to happen. In 1923 he handed over Chatham House as the centre of this movement for research into imperial and international affairs, and as a result of that gift the Government conferred on the Institute a Royal Charter, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales undertook to become the head of the organization, under the academic title of Visitor. The leadership of the Prince of Wales was an all-important matter for this reason, that the function of a Visitor—it is a mediaeval term in Universities—is to enforce the statutes. He is the person solely and outwardly responsible for seeing that the statutes are obeyed. The importance of having the heir to the throne at the head of that Institution is that as long as he is there it is absolutely impossible for it to be used for any sectional party or propaganda purposes. It can only remain an institution for what it was founded and endowed for, that is to say, research. It is easy enough to say research, but what you need in science, and it is equally true in politics, is to find out how to research, you have got to work out your methods and I could talk to you all day about that; but I simply want to say that we very soon found out that because the subject matter we were trying to study was shifting and changing from day to day, the least important part of that matter is the part which was written down and was in papers and books. Col. Leonard's gift enabled us to establish a first-rate library, but we very quickly found that if we were to understand international affairs we could only do it by getting that information which people had not had time to write down, which was in their heads and which could only get through their lips. We met that problem by the simple system that we call the group system. We take a dozen or so members that know the most about Russia, or China, or the United States, or Reparations, and they make it their business to keep abreast of that subject. They meet, generally, once a month or oftener. To their meeting which is private and is held in Chatham House they invite some man who has first-hand information to give, which is not on record, and they spend the evening cross-questioning him and hearing what he has to say. Let us take the Far Eastern Group, which deals with the affairs of China and Japan, that, so long as he lived, was presided over by Sir John Jordan, one of the greatest ex-Ambassadors we had in China. It contains diplomats, people from the Foreign Office, it contains people from the banks in the City, and the business houses in the City trading with China, it contains representatives of the missionary and educational interests. It is constantly meeting, and the moment a man, for instance like Sir Francis Anglin, comes home from China, he is laid hold of, he is taken to Chatham House and three or four hours are spent in picking his brains.

The moment President Hoover's invitation, and it was an embarrassing invitation, came in 1927, it was referred to that group to advise the Council what to do with it. It was embarrassing for two reasons. It needed a large sum of money to send a party half way across the world, but what was more alarming, if you were going to do any good, you would have to send properly qualified people. So the Council invited over Mr. John Nelson of the Sun Insurance at Montreal, who had been secretary of the Canadian group which had attended the Conference in 1925, because they wanted to know what that Conference was and all about it, and they referred the invitation the night Mr. Nelson arrived to this Far Eastern group and the question was put by the Council, what ought we to do about it? The people from the Far Eastern Department of the Foreign Office said at once, this Conference that is coming is a high powered broacasting station for opinion and views in the Pacific; Governments have nothing to do with it. We of the Foreign Office can have nothing to do with it, but it is all-important that there should be someone present at this conference who is qualified to explain British foreign policy both to the Chinese and to the Americans and the rest of the world. They said, in other words, it is up to you to go. Then the Institute people said, we agree as to that and we have got to put up the money, because you cannot go unless you can pay your passages. The money question, I must confess, frightened us much less than that of getting adequate people to go, and getting people from all parties, because that is essential where you are dealing with the Institute. We were very fortunate. There was no difficulty in getting members of the Conservative Party, who were then in power. We got Sir Frederick White, who sat in Parliament as a Liberal member, to lead the delegation, and we were also fortunate enough to get Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's son, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, so that the Labour Party was not unrepresented. We set to work to learn our job, to learn what British policy was. We started what we called the Night School at the Institute. We met night after night and had experts there to tell us what British policy was, and after a few months we found we were, irrespective of party in substantial agreement about it. I cannot go into the intricacies of Far Eastern policy here, and a great many of you probably know more than I do. The whole thing hinges on a series of treaties made eighty years ago. One of the most important and least ostentatious actions ever taken in the history of British policy was when the British Conservative Government in 1926 in a singularly modest note announced to the world that as soon as there was any government with whom they could negotiate in China, they proposed to discuss the revision of those treaties. Now that brought the British Conversative Government to some extent into conflict with the opinion of the local British community in China, and a good deal of the difficulty arises when the local community, whether in China or in Egypt, does not always see eye to eye with the policy which the British Government has to adopt. Well, finding that we were all substantially in agreement in supporting the policy of the British Government in committing the country to treaty revision, we determined to put our views into a memorandum, and we told off Sir Frederick White to draft a statement about foreign policy. He did it in a masterly memorandum of about 70 pages. We all criticized it together; it was knocked into shape, then printed and published by the Oxford University Press and we sent it on ahead to the other people we were going to meet in Honolulu, that they might read and know what our case about British policy was. We started off then across the Atlantic. At Montreal we were met by Sir Arthur Currie, the leader of the Canadian delegation, and Sir Arthur Currie and Sir Frederick White were our two leaders who played a part in that Conference second to no other members. We travelled across Canada picking up Canadian members on the way, and when we reached Honolulu we were met by the Australian and New Zealand parties who had already arrived.

Now as to the results of this Conference: First on the Americans. The Americans when they read this memorandum—somebody said of Mr. Lloyd George that he can read but he doesn't—I often feel that is true of our American friends, they can read but they dont. But they are the most genuinely courteous people on the face of the earth; they had read our memorandum, and I am bound to say it opened their eyes. They realized that in 1926 the British Government had actually done what the American Government had always been advocating, and after the Conference was over the Americans went back to their own country and in the frankest possible way took back all the hard things which had been said about British policy in 1925. I am bound to make that tribute in fairness to the American friends we met at Honolulu.

The effects on the Chinese were curious and interesting. They knew all about the declaration of December, 1926, but they thought it was dust to throw in the eyes of the civilized world, and because of the three weeks at Honolulu they met people of all political parties who seriously believed in the pronouncement, and they realized that England was not an enemy but a friend of China. We asked them what can we do to help you in England? They said, this note is only a pronouncement of a Secretary of State, a Mandarin. They said Mandarins and Secretaries of State do not cut much ice in China. (Laughter.) But the British Parliament cuts a terrific amount. If you could get this put into a resolution of the British Parliament it would make all the difference. We went back with the message, and the next King's Speech reaffirmed this policy, and that passage in the speech of a Conservative Government was picked out by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Lloyd George for their special and explicit agreement. You get all three parties lined up in favour of China on that policy. The Chinese then went to Sir Frederick White and said, come back to China and help us to convince our people that England is a friend and not an enemy. Sir Frederick White went, and within a fortnight of his arrival in Shanghai he had broken the boycott on British goods, he had got the Chinese Nationalists to invite Sir Duncan (?) to a banquet; and Sir Frederick White is now Official Advisor to the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and in that capacity passed through Canada a week ago on his way back to China. (Applause.) That is the reason we cannot have Sir Frederick White lead us this year. We make it a principle not to have a member of the party in power, and so we have Lord Halsham (?) leading us this year. I am glad to say that again Mr. Malcolm Macdonald is coming with us, and so we have all parties represented as before. This is not a party matter at all, and we are hoping to go with the party which everyone is delighted to know is being led by Mr. Routh (?) and has gone on in front of us to study China before he meets us in Kioto.

I have left two or three minutes to go back to the things most on my heart to-day, and that is the part my friend Col. Leonard has played in making all this possible. This house which means everything to the

Institute was ideal in historical associations, ideal in its position in London. It was the house in which Chatham, Lord Derby, and Mr. Gladstone, successively lived, and it is called Chatham House. Leonard told me that it appealed to him because, he said, you know I owe it to Chatham that I am a British subject to-day; I want to do something really big for the Empire, and I think to give this Institute an adequate home for research. He said if I give it a home can you people provide it with an income which is adequate for a school of research on so large a scale, and what will it cost? Most careful estimates were made, and the Council had to tell Col. Leonard that it would cost ten thousand pounds a year to finance research on that scale. He said, can you do it? And the Council said, yes, we believe we can do it if you are not in a hurry, because the best way of getting money is not to go and tell people what you can do if they give you money, but to do something first and then tell them what is going on, and that it can only continue by virtue of adequate funds. Leonard in his way said take all the time you need, I trust you. And so we did. And the result was that last year Sir Edward Baillie came forward and said, this unwritten condition made by Col. Leonard is fulfilled; for South Africa's part I am going to give half the money, and now it is for the City of London to put up the remainder. Then two other Canadians came forward, Mr. E. R. Peacock of this city, who, I believe, taught for six years in Upper Canada College, and who is now a leading man in the City of London, and Sir Campbell Stuart of Montreal, put themselves at the head of the movement in the City, and within a few weeks the remaining five thousand a year had been put up.

I think it was the happiest moment in many of our lives when we were able to ask the Prince of Wales to send a cable out to Col. Leonard to tell him that the unwritten condition on which he had made that munificent gift in 1923, had been not only fulfilled, but more than fulfilled. (Applause.)

One reason I came in advance of my friends, was the desire I had to see Col. Leonard and tell him more than one could tell him in writing about the history of the Institute of which he is the founder. And there he is, capable of understanding everything that can be told, but laid low by a malady which the doctors seem unable to explain. I must say as I talked to him there that I felt that the ways of Providence are mysterious. What would we not give at this moment if Col. Leonard in the fullness of his spirit of his power, of his authority, could journey with us to China! It seems so strange that the rest of us should be able to cross half the world, and he, the man who had made all this possibile, when we most needed him should be lying low there. And there just came into my mind as I came away, words familiar to you all, written by a man in the crisis of his country's fate who also was disabled:

"Who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best. His state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait." (Applause.)

The thanks of the Club were tendered to the speaker by Right Hon. Arthur Meighen.

PALESTINE, TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

AN ADDRESS BY HON. AND REV. CANON H. J. CODY, DD., LL.D.

3rd October, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause, and said: Mr. President, and fellow members of the Empire Club: Last Spring and early Summer I had the opportunity of visiting Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and to-day I wish to give you some impressions from my visit to Palestine. No country has more sacred associations than Palestine; to the Hebrew, the Christian and to the Mussulman Palestine is a holy land. The visit to Palestine will utterly fail to profit unless he brings with him a clear knowledge of past history. You remember the old saying that he that would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him. If you obey that law, and bring with you the wealth of historic knowledge and associations, I cannot conceive any country that will yield you more thrilling results, than the Holy Land.

Some people are deeply impressed when they go to Palestine; others are utterly disillusioned, like one who made this comment, "If God had been going to send His Son to earth He would have sent Him somewhere else." Said one man, "If the Bible describe it as a land of milk and honey, and it is not so, how can I ever trust the Bible again?" However, it is a Holy Land, a land of sacred historical associations, and in addition to that a land of vital present importance not only to the British Empire but to Europe and to world-peace in general.

May I ask you with me to take a look into the past before we look at the present and venture a brief prophecy? The first point that strikes a visitor from Canada is that Palestine is not, according to our standards, a fruitful land. Nomads who had been wandering about in the desert of the Sindi Peninsula found little oases between the Mediterranean and the desert, and to them it seemed a land flowing with milk and honey, as they thought it. Of course all things are judged by comparison and by the past experiences of those who give characterizations, and it was undoubtedly more fertile in the past than it is now, but I imagine that according to our Western standards we could not call it an extremely fertile land, for the uncertainty of the rainfall and scarcity of water must make a livelihood rather precarious.

It is said that in all there are about 1,500,000 acres of cultivable land in Palestine out of a total acreage of about 6,000,000. There is no doubt that the present extent of cultivation may be considerably enlarged, but there is a limit beyond which such extension can hardly go.

The land looks to us to-day, comparatively speaking, treeless, stony, and uninviting. You could not expect an abundance of trees in a land that has been subjected to invasion for over 4,000 years. In the last Great War 40 per cent. of the standing olive trees were cut down for military purposes. Invading hosts cut down trees that had grown, and the goats, which are very much inclined to eat the leaves of young trees, make their re-growth almost impossible. Wherever in Palestine to-day you see a clump of trees and a green oasis you are perfectly certain to find a Zionist settlement; wherever those Jewish colonists have gone they have vigorously sought to reforest the land.

Palestine is itself very stony; some parts are more stony than others. The stoniness has been well described by an Arab legend which runs thus:—That the Creator entrusted to two angels all the stones that were to be distributed over the different parts of the earth. The angel who was carrying one bag of all the total stones of the world had the misfortune, as he flew over Palestine, to break the bag, and so half the stones fell on Palestine. (Laughter.) That speaks all the more highly for the efforts that have been made by the Zionist settlements in reclamation within recent years of a comparatively unfruitful land that requires hard work and intensive effort.

The second point that strikes a visitor is that Palestine is a land that is extremely small. Your idea of distance has to be a constantly readjusted. As a rule we have on our Sunday School walls a map of Palestine just as large as the map of Europe, and sometimes as large as the map of the whole world, hence we unconsciously tend to exaggerate the actual size of Palestine because of its historical importance. When great events have occurred we almost instinctively think that they must have been enacted upon an important stage, but that is by no means the case in little Palestine. The phrase "From Dan to Beersheba" means from one end of a great land to the other, but as a matter of fact it is only 150 miles, a short day's journey by automobile; and to-day you can with an automobile do in one hour what probably you could not have done with a camel in the past in a whole day. From the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea, the broadest part of the land is very little farther than from Toronto to Hamilton, about 50 miles, and from the Sea of Galilee itself, across to Acre, just north of Haifa, it is not more than 25 miles. West of the Jordan there are only 9,000 square miles. In endeavouring to interpret happenings in Palestine we must remember that it is an extremely small and an extremely compact country. We read in the Old Testament that from the top of Nebo's lonely mountain Moses was shown the whole land of Palestine. Perhaps we think that was an exaggeration, but it is literally true.

May I illustrate in this way. The River Jordan rises at the end of that great ridge that is called Hermon, fed by the snows on the Hermon and the Lebanons, 1,700 feet above sea level. It flows down through the waters of Merah and the Sea of Galilee until at last it empties into the Dead Sea that is about 1,300 feet below sea level. This great gorge of the Jordan is one of the most remarkable features of the whole physical world. I stood on the shore of the Dead Sea where the Jordan debouches, and looked north the whole extent of the land, and I could see the gleaming snow on the top of Mount Hermon, and see the land from end to end.

About 6 miles northwest of Jerusalem there is a small cluster called Nebo Samuel; it is the traditional site of the tomb of the prophet Samuel, and it is one of the identifications of Mizpah, where Samuel judged Israel. Mahommedan pilgrims first caught sight of Jerusalem from that height. It was there that Richard the Lion-Hearted arrived in the days of the Crusade. On account of the disaffection of his followers he knew he could not capture Jerusalem, and he turned away and would not look upon the Holy City. Now, it is an easy journey from Jerusalem to climb to the top of Nebo Samuel, and when you have reached the height you have a marvellous view of practically the whole land; you can see the gleaming Mediterranean on the west; you can see the Philistine Plains with their palm trees, and farther up the orange groves, you see the Shephelah or the low country, the rising valleys with their wheat fields, the great Philistine battlefields, and then you come in the centre from where you are to the stony uplands of Judea. Then you plunge down with a glance of the eye into that bare and arid and mercilessly sunbaked wilderness of Judea down to the abyss of the Dead Sea, and lift your eyes up to the uplands of Moab. Why, you have with one glance swept all across the Holy Land from sea to the river.

May I add one other illustration? The old story of Ruth is an abiding romance. Ruth was a Moabitess. They only went over to Moab to escape the famine in Bethlehem. I always used to think it was a tremendous journey; but when you are in Bethlehem you can see Moab on the other side of the Dead Sea, about 30 miles away, and when you are in Moab you can catch a glimpse of Bethlehem upon the hills. It is a tiny land, and seems to be smaller than it actually is, as many travellers have remarked, because from so many points of vantage you can see the whole country with one glance of the eye.

The third point that strikes you is the extraordinary diversity of this little land. There are many varieties of climate and of landscape. You can come from the torrid heat of the Dead Sea, 1,300 feet below the sea level, up to the snows of Mount Hermon. You can start down in Beersheba, where you are baked by the sun on the border of the desert, and climb up to the temperate zone of Jerusalem, where there is rain and snow on occasions; one morning early in June there was a rainfall that caught me in the temple area. Then you go north and down into the Valley of Esdraelon and climb again that central spinal ridge until you end in the great mass and reach of Hermons and those Lebanons; so you have an endless variety of climate in this little land.

As you go up the backbone or spinal column that runs from north to south you find that this backbone is broken again and again into endless valleys, and you begin to understand why in prehistoric days so many different kinds of people could live almost independently in little pockets, and how the tribal boundaries were as they were, and what a large measure of independence would be enjoyed by the tribes in separate little pockets. While there is compactness there is diversity, particularly from the broken-up condition of the valleys in this great central spine. In reading the Bible you must have noticed the frequent contrast between hills and valleys; and how many valleys and hills in little Palestine are mentioned.

Another point is that in visiting Palestine to-day the open air gives the best results. I quote Dr. Fosdick's very apt words:—"Nothing in Palestine under a roof is much worth seeing; nothing in Palestine out of doors is not worth seeing. I believe there is a great truth in that; it is the open air scenes and sights that appeal most to us to-day; it was so in my case—the hills of Galilee and the Sea of Galilee and Mount Hermon, and the Philistine Plains, and the uplands about Bethlehem, and the mountains that were round about Jerusalem, and the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, and the uplands of Moab.

Another point. The old and the new are marvellously mingled to-day in Palestine, where you are driving on a well-built British road in a high-powered motor car, and presently you meet a man and his wife and perhaps a little child riding on a big donkey, just as Joseph and Mary and the child Jesus rode when they went into Egypt. Or you meet a train of camels led by the inevitable little donkey. There you have the contrast of the ancient methods of transportation with the modern. I remember that when down at the Dead Sea, where one's thoughts went back to Sodom and Gomorrah, and the victories of Joshua on the heights of Moab, there was a whirr in the air and one caught sight of the Cairo-Baghdad air-mail going through on its journey—the ancient and the modern mixed together.

But above everything else Palestine is the home of history. I went over the sea to Acre, a little town now of about 6,000 inhabitants, but what ghosts haunt the very name of Acre? It was the ancient Ako—I give this as one sample—not captured by the Hebrews in the days of Joshua. Sennacherib seized it before he captured Jerusalem. Alexander the Great paid it a visit. Perhaps Jesus himself, when He came to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, may have passed hard by. St. Paul stayed there for a day. There was a Christian Bishop established there before the end of the second century. Mussulmen swept over it in the year 638, not more than 6 years after the death of Mahomet. It was the capital of the Crusaders for many a day, and endured sieges and had hairbreadth escapes. There Richard the Lion-Hearted slew 5,000 Mussulmen because they had not promptly paid their ransom—an illustration, by the way, of christianity as applied to the Mussulmen. (Laughter.) There Francis of Assisi prayed, and there Napoleon Bonaparte turned back the battle. Nowhere can you find a greater summary of history than Palestine will give you.

And what is the explanation? It is that Palestine is at once an oasis and a bridge. To the dwellers in the desert it seemed an oasis, a land of milk and honey, a land of plenty. The two great civilizations on the banks of the Nile and the Tigris and the Euphrates could only get each at the other for purposes of peace or war by coming through Palestine, which was the bridge of the ancient world, and therefore constantly exposed to endless invasions. Think of it—the Amorites 2,500 years before Christ, the Canaanites, the Egyptians, the Hebrews who swept from the land side and the Philistines who came from the seaboard, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Eastern Greeks, the Romans, the Mussulmen, the Persians under Chosres, the Crusaders, the Turks, the British—the mere mention of those invasions gives you in a few lines the tragic history of Palestine.

So much for the past. The visitor to Palestine today, especially the Britisher, is impressed with the guiding hand of Britain that is here revealed. They have been improving the roads in every direction, and the main roads are now good motor roads. I motored easily and swiftly from Damascus to Tiberias; and motor coaches run between Beyrout over to Baghdad in almost 24 hours continuous going. The British have aided in the construction of roads, in schemes of irrigation and re-forestation, and in guaranteeing bonds for the development of the harbours of Jaffa and Haifa, and the latter will be the great port of the Eastern Mediterranean. But I think the most dramatic and most striking feature is the development of Palestine since the mandate was accepted by Britain, and since the recent influx of between 60,000 and 70,000 Zionist colonists. Some of those returning Jews have gone into the towns and cities, and some have gone on land, but not one solitary acre of ground has been occupied by the returning Jews which they have not purchased at what I believe was a fair price. (Applause). They have not taken an acre from the Arabs. This is the point, and it has often been forgotten in recent discussions. But the population is varied. I shall not be very far astray if I say there are 600,000 Arabs or Mussulmans, 150,000 Jews, and possibly 75,000 Christians, so that there are a great many more Arabs than Jews and Christians put together.

Now, the Balfour Declaration stated: "His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object." But he did not stop there; he went on—"it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." You see, there is no promise made or no undertaking given to oust the Arabs and force the Jews into the country. At most, that declaration stated or effected that old-time prohibitions on Jews entering Palestine or purchasing land were removed. There is a difference between establishing a national home for Jews in Palestine and making Palestine the national home for Jews, and it was the former that was undertaken. The Jewish nationality was not imposed on the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but existing Jewish communities were tremendously developed.

Naturally the Arabs were somewhat suspicious. They are poor, they are illiterate, they did not understand what was taking place. I would repeat that all the land upon which Zionist colonies were established was purchased. Of necessity Jews settled on those colonies were backed by the financiers of the Zionist organization. The Jews, who came mainly from regions in Europe where they were persecuted, came for patriotic and sentimental reasons, and in order to be safe from progroms and persecutions. They worked hard. A Zionist said to me, "wherever you see a glorious spot of green in Palestine, a bit of garden in the midst of a comparative desert, you are certain to find a Zionist colony." They have reclaimed some almost impossible land, and land that was long neglected they have caused to blossom like a garden. I think nobody can go to Palestine to-day without paying tribute to the real achievements in agriculture that have been accomplished by the Jews that are there. (Applause.) You can see how, in the nature of the case, the ignorant Arab might grow suspicious and fearful. Some people have misled him. Some Zionists have used unwarranted language. Some have even bidden the Arabs to go on trek but that was not the attitude of the modern Zionists or of the real Zionist leaders. The Arab is suspicious, and afraid that he is going to be dispossessed by this new commerce, although he is in a vast numerical majority.

I do not think the trouble in Palestine is primarily religious at all. Let us not forget that in the days when the Christians persecuted the Jew the Mussulman gave him a welcome. That is a curious thing, but it is true, that until comparatively recent times in Palestine itself there has not been this antagonism between the Jew and the Mussulman. I think that the antipathy is not religious but racial, and is really based on Arab suspicion that they are going to be ousted, that the British Government is favouring the Zionist as against them, and that they themselves have no share in determining their own political destiny. Arabs in the War thought they were going to enjoy the fullest rights of self-determination; that as a reward for aiding the British against the Turks they were going to be part of a great Arab federation. Undoubtedly a promise in general terms was given, and I do not know whether such a promise was ever intended to cover Syria, where the French had interests, or Palestine. At any rate the British interpretation is that it did not and was not intended to cover Palestine. The British therefore took the mandate over Palestine, and protected incoming Jews who bought land and proceeded to develop it.

That is the background. The antagonism is racial rather than religious; or, if I may put it this way, in the East religion is never purely the expression of spiritual sentiment; it is nearly always bound up more or less with nationalistic problems. The Greek church is somewhat linked with the nationalist movement in Palestine. The Roman church has Italian designs. Mahommedanism has a general idea of an Arab federation. The Jews are not so much concerned with the practice of their religious rites or with the expression of their religious convictions as with a political movement that may imperil their existing nationalist movement. You cannot in the East separate religion from politics, and it is difficult to say, in any given case, how far the movement is purely religious and how far it is mainly national or political. I think in that sense that this recent clash has been more nationalistic and political than religious. I have not time to discuss the clash over the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, but I do not think that really that was the fundamental question, and I believe that trouble can and will be adjusted, but all that lies behind the recent outbreak is a strained relationship between the races.

In closing I would ask, is there a future for Palestine, and what will be the future of Zionism? As one who is very sympathetic with the Zionist aim, I think the motive behind the movement is one of patriotism and pity. Patriotism has always been characteristic of the Hebrew race; they have looked back to Jerusalem and the Holy Land—"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." The rich Hebrews throughout the world have had compassion upon their fellow-countrymen who have been the subject of persecution and periodical pogroms, and they have liberally contributed to sending back those persecuted ones who wished to go to Palestine. I believe three-fourths of the money supplied for this purpose has come from the United States, although the Jews who have gone back have come chiefly from Eastern countries of Europe. As to the future of the Zionist movement in Palestine there are three great problems.

The first problem is economic—the restoration of those colonies to Jews who want to go back involves an enormous expenditure, which Zionist organizations have been willing to make. The Hebrew is known throughout the world for financial shrewdness; he wants to get a return upon his investment; yet here is a movement among Jews where there is only a sentimental return and no financial return. In parts of the land it will be years before both ends will meet. Will Zionism succeed? That depends upon whether Zionists throughout the world, particularly on this continent, are prepared to continue spending money for the establishing of their compatriots in Palestine. My opinion is that they will continue that expenditure, and provide a home for those Jews in persecuted lands who wish to go back. But I do not think the Zionists or anybody dream of Jews going back there by the millions. They could not be accommodated. Why, in the days of Our Lord the whole population was barely 2,000,000.

The second problem is that of racial relations with the Arab. Until the Arab realizes that his culture and civilization are behind that which the Jew is bringing into Palestine, and moves himself, there will be danger of friction, but he will have to move, and if there is going to be a rejuvenated Palestine the Arab and Jew must co-operate.

The third great problem is this, that the Zionist movement is not only religious but racial, and there are endless varieties among the Zionists who have gone back. Some are atheists and some are theists; some are individualists and some are communists in regard to the holding of land, and their varying views will have to be held in subjection to the common nationalist movement.

Then there is a fourth problem. A veteran missionary, a medical man whom I remember years ago in the University of Toronto, said to me, "The Zionists will be faced with the same problem that all of us in the Western lands are faced with—the respective attraction of the country and the city. Those who are on the land now have families, but they are working hard, they are idealists, and they are prepared by sacrifice to realize their ideals. What will happen when they are well established and prosperous, when their sons grow up? Will they be satisfied to stay on the land, or to stay in Palestine, where the commercial opportunities are comparatively small? Or will they want to come to the United States of America?" He said, "I believe one of the most serious problems that the Zionists will have to confront in the future is that of keeping in Palestine the sons and daughters of those who are now there. It is a problem that faces all peoples in all parts of the world."

I believe that if Zionism is to succeed, and if peace is to be maintained in Palestine, the British will and must retain the mandate. I do not think there is any intention on the part of the British Government to give up its mandate. I think the British will, as they always do, investigate fully, punish adequately and wisely, try to prevent the recurrence of troubles, and do justly between all the various religions and races in that land. If Britain is to give back the mandate, who will take it? Will France? Would that be acceptable to Mussolini? Will Italy? There are strong forces at work there in the East in behalf of an Italian mandate. Would either Italy or France be satisfactory to the members of the Greek Orthodox Church? Who, except Britain, could exercise the guiding hand for the moment? It seems to me the only alternative would be to go back to Turkish administration under the Turkish Republic. I do not think for a moment that Britain will withdraw.

Gentlemen, I would like to leave this with you—I have seen very little said about it, but it is eminently true—Palestine is becoming more and more of vital interest to Britain from the Imperial point of view. Britain has to maintain her connections with the East. The Suez Canal, to be sure, is one of the vital connections. As long as she holds the mandate over Palestine she can have something to say for the protection of the Suez Canal from the Eastern side. I do not think she will retire from the job so as to leave that Canal exposed from the Western side. But has not the development of

Imperial travel made some difference in the situation? Is not Palestine to-day a station of imperial air-ways? Is there not going to be a great oil-pipe line from the Muslem fields ending at Haifa? That is the proposal. Is there not already going on a great hydro-electric development on the Jordan? Will not Palestine more and more come to be, as it were, the outlet for all the products of the Hinterland? Because from Hiafa, at the end of the valley of Esdraelon, right back to Syria and the Persian Gulf there is not a single blocking range of mountains. I believe in the future Palestine will be of vastly greater importance to the United Empire and to the continuity of those communications in the East than it ever has been.

So one's hope is that under the guidance and tutelage and fair-play of the British, backed in the future, I imagine, by a much more substantial police force than has been there in the past, the Jew and Christian and Moslem will work together for the rejuvenation of Palestine. Never, perhaps, will it be a rich community, but it is rapidly becoming one of the greatest orange-producing parts of the world, and with the development of the Dead Sea and its contents it will have other exports, and will have a reasonably happy material future, and it will always be a home of the heart to the members of great world religions. (Loud applause.)

Sir Robert Falconer voiced the thanks of the Club for the inspiring address.

PROBLEMS OF THE CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

AN ADDRESS BY SIR HENRY W. THORNTON, K.B.E., MONTREAL.

10th October, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker, who was warmly received and said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I thank your Chairman for his kindly words of introduction, and your very cordial reception. It is a great pleasure for me to speak to the Empire Club, not only because there are gathered here those who are so representative of the life of this community, but also because of a fine aspiration and the work which the Club is performing. Its motto, as I have just heard from your President, is "God and the King"—surely a sufficiently broad and at the same time sufficiently conservative motto to include everything. I am particularly glad to see here two of your distinguished citizens who at least may be described as godfathers to the enterprise over which I have the privilege of presiding at the moment. There is always a good deal of doubt with respect to the parentage of a child until it achieves some degree of success—(laughter)—and I, as President of the Canadian National Railway, rejoice in the fact that both of the political parties at the moment have been claiming this privilege. (Laughter). At any rate I should like to pay my compliments to the Right Honourable Mr. Arthur Meighen—(applause)—and Sir Thomas White. (Applause.) What ever they may or may not have done, at least they were materially concerned in the birth of the Canadian National Railway. I have always contended that the Government of that day pursued the only sane course with respect to the transportation system which any pariotic and sagacious Government could have pursued.

The Canadian National Railway has been considerably discussed, and sometimes cussed (laughter), so that the subject has become almost threadbare in its various aspects. It is difficult to find any activity of the Canadian National Railway which one can discuss with frankness. I would like, however, before I proceed with my remarks, to disabuse the public mind of a statement which recently appeared in one of the financial papers. That journal said that the Canadian National Railway was a dictatorship, and I was the dictator. Well, I am very much obliged for the compliment, but it is not anything of the sort. The Canadian National Railway represents, perhaps, as fine an expression of co-operative effort as will be found in the industrial world. (Hear, hear and applause.) It would be both stupid and foolish to maintain that whatever success this railway has achieved has been achieved by any one group of individuals or by any individual. It represents the cooperative effort of all. In our various problems there is given the fullest opportunity to all of our executive officers to freely express their opinions, to frankly criticize, and to assist in the determination of policies; and when those policies are crystalized and reported to the Board of Directors for final consideration, as must necessarily be the case with any well-organized institution, we find that our Directors bring to bear a fine sense of responsibility, a very deep knowledge of conditions in Canada, and I am very happy to find that I can there get the advice, support and assistance which is the responsibility of the Directors to give to the enterprise.

The Canadian National Railway therefore represents precisely the antithesis of dictatorship. It is a co-operative movement in which all of our employees, from the humblest up, all of our officers, all of our vice-presidents, and all of our directors, participate freely and frankly; and if the Railway has achieved any material degree of success it has been due to that co-operative spirit, that freedom with which advice is offered, and that unity of effort which has always developed the policies that are decided upon, and the execution of those policies. (Applause.)

Now, I would like to discuss with you to-day what I shall describe as some of the problems of the Canadian National Railway, and as far as I am concerned personally this audience and other similar audiences, immediately present, is one of our problems—that is, to speak to such audiences as one must necessarily speak to, meet them in friendly contact as I like, to say what there is to say without getting one's foot in it. (Laughter.) That represents a considerable problem. It is essential, having regard for the public character of the Canadian National Railway, that the people of Canada, who are its shareholders, should be fully advised and kept reasonably well posted with respect to the condition of the property, its aims and aspirations. One of the functions which is placed upon me as Chairman of the Company is to meet our people throughout Canada and explain to them in a friendly, intimate way, what their property is doing and what they may expect from it; but to do that from the Atlantic to the Pacific with due regard to geographical competition and reasonable jealousies is not always an easy problem to me.

One of the essential problems which confronts the Canadian National Railway is due largely to its wide-flung mileage. This railway serves the people of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific; each one of the provinces and the communities which we serve has its own individual aspirations which necessarily find expression in the mouths of their political representatives. One of the functions of every member of the House is to not only represent his party politically—and incidentally that is the least of his responsibilities—but also to represent his own community, to promote things which are for the welfare of that community, to speak for it in public places, and at all times where the interest of the community is involved. That necessarily means that the various members of the House whom I meet sincerely and ardently advance the demands of the constituencies which they represent. Likewise the provinces through their premiers pursue the same course. The problem which confronts the administration of the railway is to examine all of those proposals and to determine that priority of construction which necessity requires. Obviously, for example, hotels cannot be built in every city of Canada simultaneously. Also, every city in Canada cannot have a new station at the same time. Branch lines cannot be built into every community in the same year, no matter how great the demand. Terminals cannot be provided in important centres in the same year or two years. All of those things involve a certain priority which is determined by necessity.

Now, gentlemen, to examine and sort out these various propositions with due regard to their cost to determine their priority, is one of the problems of the Canadian National Railway which confronts the administration, and all that the administration can do is to employ its best judgment, decide when certain improvements should be made, and present those proposals to Parliament in such a fashion—and I hope in such a convincing way—as to secure approval. The very fact, that the railway is a state-owned institution, and that every individual in Canada is a shareholder, makes that problem rather more difficult than if we were a privately-owned company. However, if we can establish in the minds of the people of Canada the confidence that the administration of the railway is capable and honest, while there may be some who will be disappointed they will at least be satisfied that the best is being done under the circumstances.

Another problem which confronts us is the curious and intricate financial structure of the Canadian National Railway System. If I undertook to explain to you in any sort of detail what that financial structure is, the end of this speech would be limited by the dawn of tomorrow's sun. (Laughter.) But since 1923 there has been made an intensive examination of the whole situation. Of course we have in those intervening years adjusted the personnel of the railway to various departmental tasks. We have unified and standardized our equipment; we have arranged the movement of traffic in that fashion which will produce an economy of results, and we have also standardized our maintenance. Much has also been done in co-ordinating our various lines where they paralleled one and the other.

In that connection I would like to remind you that the Canadian National Railway System is composed of a number of different units which were built entirely for competitive purposes. It is a collection of railways which were designed not to work as a whole, but to compete one with the other, as distinguished from the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was conceived as one entity and has been pursued as one entity, and as the years roll by each part of that property has been augmented and supported as a whole. In many parts of our system, instead of supporting the whole railway, they affect the soundness of the structure; but all of that co-ordination work of a physical nature has been going on since 1922, and it has now achieved a fair measure of completion.

We still have left on our hands the solution of the financial problem. The Canadian National Railway, as it was represented on December 31st of last year, was composed of 92 different companies, and the corporate existence of each one of those companies was alive. Some were parent companies, some were subsidiaries, all were of different sizes, and all organized for different purposes. The conglomeration of the securities of all those companies is represented by a very considerable figure of $1,328,000,000. There were all kinds, sorts and descriptions of mortgages on those properties. Some were guaranteed by the Government, some by the provinces, some not at all. They all had different dates of maturity, different rates of interest. Some were pledged, some were re-pledged, and some were not. Those mortgages represented something more than 150 different instruments. Some were, firstly, on the property for some hundreds of miles, and then a secondly or thirdly for some other districts and some other miles. To examine, to codify and to capitalize all those different securities has been a stupendous task; and what made it worse was that in many cases the records of the subsidiary companies were simply deplorable. It will require years of work in many instances to find out exactly what the obligations of those various companies were.

Now that has all been done, and I am hopeful that at the next session of Parliament we shall be able to present a financial scheme which will be broad enough and sound enough to secure the financial permanence of your property and at the same time, and as equally important, enable us to capitalize the financial improvement of the property in the last six or seven years. As things stand to-day, irrespective of what financial improvement we might make, it would be quite impossible to give expression to that financial improvement which would relieve the national debt; therefore, if our property is to improve in the future as it has in the past it is essential for the interests of the Dominion that that improvement should find an expression which will enable the Government of Canada to legitimately write down the national debt accordingly, and take advantage of what were formerly liabilities and what now become assets. (Applause.)

Another problem which has confronted us is the relations between the Canadian National Railway System, a state-owned railway, and what is generally called labour. Now, it is popularly supposed that because of its political relationship every state-owned railway is more or less at the mercy of labour because labour, politically, means votes, and to run a railway on a system of votes inevitably means failure. When this present administration took charge of the Canadian National Railway we realized that it was essential to secure the full and complete and unselfish co-operation of labour as distinguished from labour in its political sense. That work has proceeded as the years have rolled by, and we have now established with the recognized labour organizations a relationship which brings a sense of pride to our employees, which excites in them a desire to give of their best to the company, and which has substantially short-circuited any unreasonable selfish or predatory influence in our labour organizations which might conceivably affect us. That situation finds its best expression in what is known as the co-operative movement.

I had the privilege this morning of speaking to the American Federation of Labour at their 49th Convention in this hotel, and the subject which I ventured to discuss with them was the partnership theory in business enterprises, and particularly as exemplified by the co-operative movement on the Canadian National Railways. Briefly that movement is a machine which gives to our employees a voice in the administration of the local place or shop in which they work. It commenced in the railway shops, in each one of which there is a committee of men composed of the foreman and shop superintendent, and they virtually run that shop between them. They meet at frequent intervals, generally once a week. Suggestions for improved safety, improved sanitary conditions, improved lighting, and all those things which relate to the comfort of the men are discussed, and also all matters which relate to increased output and reduced cost.

Since the inception of this plan in 1924 our employees have presented to the shop administrations 6,300 proposals. We call them suggestions; they run all the way from some trivial improvement of a machine to perhaps some large question of shop policy. Of those 6,300 suggestions, 72 per cent. have been adopted by the Company. (Applause.) 15 per cent. are still under consideration, and the balance, a small percentage of 10 or 12 has been rejected. Now, the point is that had it not been for that co-operative shop movement all of our men and their brains would have remained inactive; we would never have had those proposals; but as a result of this movement we have the brains of all our men working to find some way to improve the operation of that particular thing with which they are engaged. (Applause.) Now, it has not all been one-sided. This co-operative shop movement has increased the wages of shop employees by $150.00 a year on the average, per man, and in addition to that we have been able to give all our employees a week's holiday on pay, with substantially no cost to the company. In other words, gentlemen, that is the principle of the partnership idea. That is one of the reasons why I tell you that the Canadian National Railway is not a dictatorship; it is a partnership proposition. (Applause.)

We have just extended this theory to our maintenance-of-way employees, and although that has only been in operation a few months it promises to be even more successful than the co-operative movement in the shops. When that is organized I intend to extend the same thing to the engine and train service and clerical forces, and I can visualize the day when all the employees of the Canadian National Railway will have the proprietor's point of view, will have the partnership idea in their minds, will go to their work as proprietors and as partners with the determined effort to do that day everything that they can do for the welfare of the company, rather than to do as little as possible and to work only because they are paid to work. (Loud applause.) I maintain, gentlemen, that that spirit, in its last analysis, in its larger scope, is the dawn of a new sun, a new day, for the relations between capital and labour; and I am happy that the Canadian National Railway has been an instrument in the promotion of an idea which carries with it such large potentialities. (Applause.)

Now, gentlemen, those are just a few of the problems with which we have dealt and with which we are dealing, and the progress that we are making with respect to them. I would like briefly to call your attention to three contributions which I think the Canadian National Railway is making towards the arts and science of transportation. It is well enough to run a railway satisfactorily, to move freight and passengers economically and safely from A to B, and to perform all those functions, those day-by-day details which are essential to any business enterprise; but any enterprise which is worth while should also be making some definite contribution towards advancing the particular profession which engages it, otherwise progress would come to a stand-still. The three things which we have done within the last six years may be described as mechanical, economic or social, and political.

Mechanically, we have developed for railway transportation purposes the Diesel electric locomotive. That is an adaptation of the Diesel engine for railway purposes. We went into the matter first because on many of our branch lines we were maintaining a steam service which was not economical, which cost us 110 percent. of the gross earnings to operate many of the branch lines, and we sought some cheaper form of transport. The story of the new development, briefly told, is that we reduced the operating ratio from 110 percent. to 72 per cent. In other words, we are making money where we once lost it. (Applause.) We are now preparing to expend the use of the Diesel electric to yard shipment, because we find that in yard work the Diesel electric saves 75 per cent. of the cost of fuel. You will easily see how that comes about, because with the ordinary coal-burning yard engine the coal goes up the chimney whether the engine is standing still or working, while with the Diesel electric the fuel is only consumed when work is in progress and the engine is moving. I believe I am safe in saying also that we have the largest Diesel electric in the world for road purposes, and that locomotive has already shown an economy in fuel cost of 50 per cent. There are still some problems to be solved in connection with it, but the contribution of the engineers of the Canadian National Railways to the art of transportation has been the development of a Diesel electric engine as a successful transportation device. (Applause.)

The second contribution, which I have described as economic and social, has been the inauguration and development of the co-operative partnership movement with our employees which I have just described. I think that theory contains great potentialities, and I believe that we are the foremost railway with respect to that policy.

The third contribution we have made is that we have demonstrated to the world that a state-owned railway can be run just as efficiently and give just as good service to the public as any privately-owned institution. (Hear, hear, and applause. However true the latter may be, it does not necessarily follow that because we have been successful, in our peculiar circumstances, in this demonstration, that it will be equally successful in other countries. The Canadian National Railway has been held up as a horrible example of state-ownership. and also as an example of the best that can happen in state-ownership. Neither is true. As far as we are concerned, we were confronted in Canada by a certain set of conditions involving certain problems. Those problems were solved wisely, I think, by the establishment of a state-owned railway system. We are minding our own business; we are not bothering anyone else, and would be much obliged if other people would leave us alone. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, gentlemen, I again thank you very cordially for this opportunity of talking to you in what I am afraid is a rather desultory fashion. Perhaps I have not stuck to any particular subject, but I did want this opportunity of talking to you rather than making a speech to you; I wanted to tell you something of our problems, and something of the things which we have accomplished. This railway will always make mistakes. (Laughter.) It could not be otherwise; and so will its officers. The only individual within my knowledge who made no mistakes was the prophet Elijah, and you all know what happened to him. (Laughter.) I therefore hardly think that we shall find ourselves suddenly translated to Heaven in a fiery chariot. We do make our mistakes, but what mistakes are made will be made in sincerity, with a desire to help rather than to harm. This railway is never finished, never will be finished. We shall always have our problems, but I do want the people of Canada, of all political and religious faiths, and in all localities, to feel that the railway itself, its officers and its men, are dedicated to the people of Canada. (Loud applause.)

MR. J. W. DAFOE, Winnipeg, the recently appointed Non-National in the consultation between Germany and the United States, voiced the thanks of the Club to the speaker.

"OUT OF MY LIFE"

An Address by HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS, THE GRAND DUKE ALEXANDER of russia.

18th October, 1929

President Eayrs introduced the speaker. The Grand Duke Alexander was cordially received and said:—I am very happy to speak to you, my Canadian friends. I say friends because I mean real friendship for American people guided my decision to visit your beautiful country. I will ask you not to consider me as a Grand Duke, because before being Grand Duke I am a Russian, and before being a Russian, I am a man. (Hear, hear.)

I will try my best to speak to you about some of my experiences during the past fifty years, and the conclusions to which I came. I was born in the Imperial family of Russia, being a Grandson of Emperor Nicholas I., who governed a sixth part of the world. I had wealth, position, power; I was happy in my family life, and never knew the value of money. My father, who was the youngest son of Emperor Nicholas I., after his death was nominated as officer to the Caucasus, a province at the south border of Russia. He was there just when the war with troops of the Caucasian Mountains was finished. I was born three years after he arrived there, in Tiflis, the capital of Caucasus. My childhood was passed amid beautiful nature; I always felt one with nature, and I think that feeling has to be felt by every human being who is not to separate one's self from one's fellows. My education was very good, my general education as well as that for an officer of the navy, which was special, but I had not received an answer to the more important questions which have to interest every human being; I mean, What we are, What we aim at in the sense of

Life on Earth, and What the Future; I have tried to find out those, so to say, mysteries.

When war broke out in 1877 I was eleven years old. I lived with my mother, my five brothers and one sister, about fifteen or twenty miles from the frontier. My mother arranged hospitals in barracks, and all the wounded and sick officers and soldiers passed through that place, so I saw all the suffering of those poor people, and hated the war and the useless bloodshed. All the same, I must say that the war was declared by my uncle, Emperor Alexander II. to free Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria. The war was victorious, and since the year 1879 those three countries are free and independent. (Applause.) Our troops came under the walls of Constantinople, and the Balkan Peninsula was occupied by our soldiers. The idea of Emperor Alexander II. was to end the never-ending Balkan question, which has started so many wars, but the Berlin Congress called together by Bismarck deprived us of the fruits of our victory, and you know how much blood was shed since the year 1879 until now.

My life was passed under three emperors—Alexander I., Alexander II., and Nicholas II. After the war, in 1881, I came for the first time to St. Petersburg, which to-day is called Leningrad, and I saw for the first time real Russia, and I must admit that after living over in Caucasus I did not like to live in St. Petersburg and its surroundings. The summer is short, the winter is long, the sun never appears, and the depression was terrible.

I was present on the first of March, 1881, at the murder of Emperor Alexander II. Of course it made a terrible impression on me, so much more because he was the most liberal of all our emperors. He offered freedom to the Serfs, the Peasants; he gave them land, instituted true justice, gave liberty to three countries of which I spoke, he supported education, and one can say that during his reign real progress and culture began in Russia. All the same, the foreigners, the Bolsheviki, killed him because all the liberals of Russia had been executed, and Russia was not ready to help the culture regime, as it is not ready to-day, because the Bolsheviki, as you know, and their government are nothing more than an autocracy of a minority of people over 160,000,000 peasants.

I can say that Alexander I. was the first real national emperor, and one can see how people loved him because after thirteen years' reign, at his funeral I saw about 3,000 soldiers sent from all the Russias, which shows his popularity. He was called the Peacemaker. During his reign I was taking voyages. My first voyage began in 1876 and lasted three years. I visited all the countries of Europe and the colonies of the British Empire. I must say that I admired very much and I was always impressed with the way the Britihh knew how to colonize those countries, and how to give freedom to the people without giving them power for which they were not yet ready. (Hear, hear.)

In all those countries I always paid attention to the spiritual side of the people, because the spiritual is more broad. This makes you understand better what my interests were. Of course I studied all the religions. I wanted to find an answer to the questions of which I spoke. This answer I have not found, but when I came home a change probably was seen in me, because my brothers, for a joke, used to call me Buddha. Of course I was not a Buddhist, but they saw in me some kind of a spiritual change. Well, I must say that I came back to the Christian religion and studied the beautiful teaching of Christ, and I came to the conclusion of which I will speak later.

In the year 1893 I paid my first visit to the United States. Of course I had to see Niagara Falls, and that is why I visited Canada for a few days. (Laughter.) I stayed for six months. The United States and Canadian people always attracted me because of their freshness, of their vitality, of their energy. When visiting and reading about your country, for me it was always the ideal which I wanted Russia to imitate. One day it will happen, of course not now, but when this tyranny will finish, when the Russian people from within will understand that evil power is to be dismissed. I am sure that, with the help of the United States and Canada, Russia will regain her place among the civilized peoples. (Applause.)

In 1894 I married the daughter of Emperor Nicholas II. My family life was very happy. I had one daughter and six boys. They are all alive, and three of them are now working in the United States. The last one I brought with me because I think that the United States, and your country too—because I really cannot divide the energy, the vitality of those countries, it is so alike—is the best country to form young men for future work in Russia. I cannot say I am sure that I will see the day when I can go back to Russia, but I am sure that my children will live to see that happy day. Of course the state of things will never be the same as before the Revolution, and my boys will have to work hard for the Russian people. I may say that all our refugees, which count about 2,500,000, are all working, all over the world, and I see in them the great treasure for the future progress of Russia.

I must say something about the late Emperor Nicholas. Much was written unfairly to him. You must remember that when he became Emperor in the year 1904 he was only 27 years old. He passed his young manhood in cavalry and infantry, but he was not prepared for the post of Emperor. I remember, being his friend, how he complained to me of his fate, that he had to begin with his heavy burdens so young; but I can say that he knew his duty, and if you ever saw how emperors work I will say that he was the hardest worker for human happiness. Emperors never have a vacation, or time of their own. The Emperor was very happy in his family life, and he did the best he could.

While I cannot say a single word against the Emperor, I can say many words against the persons who formed his government, who were not really honest. They had not the civil courage which is so much needed in countries where there are Emperors, and so much more in Russia, where he was the autocrat and always had the last word. Their dishonesty appeared often in the fact that when a law was popular and the people liked it, you heard always that such and such a man promoted it; but when the law was unpopular, everything was put on the head of the Emperor. So it was that the popularity of the Emperor gradually went down.

Of course you will read so much about the man whose name I do not want to pronounce, who had such an influence on the Empress—absolutely incomprehensible unless you remember that her son had an incurable illness, and doctors could not do anything, and during the childhood of the boy that man cured him and saved his life. He had some kind of power which we find in some individuals. I know, myself, two persons like that in Paris who really can cure people. So if you remember that, you will understand—and you mothers more than anybody—how she believed in him, and how she would not believe anything that was said against him, counting it jealousy, which is always existent in the Courts.

Well, after my marriage I continued my service in the navy, in the Baltic and the Mediterranean, and in 1900 I became Minister of Foreign and Commercial Navy, and took part in the Russian Government during three years. In 1904 the war with Japan broke out. It was a great mistake to have this war, because of course Japan could not stand our presence in Northern Korea and Port Arthur. I personally did everything I could to show that the policy of the foreign war was wrong—(applause)—but somehow there was some kind of power that just pushed us to Japan. That war finished badly for us for two reasons; one was because of the enormous distance—10,000 kilometres from Russia—and because the army which went there never understood why we took issue with Japan. They had never even heard of the existence of Japan, and of course, after travelling for three or four weeks in a train, and going straight from the carriage to the battle, you can understand how they talked. The results of that war were very sad.

The Revolution broke out in 1905, but was finished very quickly because the propaganda had not reached the depths of the masses of the peasants. A new government was formed. I left it because I had no confidence in the person who formed it; and you know that in 1905 and in the beginning of 1906 the Duma was first given to Russia. The last word remained with the Emperor, and here I must say one thing, and you will understand why the Emperor could not say it, because our Emperors at their coronation give their oath not to yield their right to anybody. The Emperor often talked to me, and said he would be glad to do it, but he had no right.

In the year 1906 I interested myself very much in aviation, and started the first aviation school in Russia. (Applause.) It was interesting to know how difficult it was to prove to the Ministers of Navy and Army the need of aviation. They would not believe it. They fought with me, and would not help. Well, it was very sad, because when the Great War began we were not prepared in that branch of the military service. The state consented to put me at the head of the aviation which I started. Of course it was a difficult work, because we had to create everything, to build our own airplanes; but thanks to the help of the English and the French, we held the ground against the Germans when the Great War began.

During my whole life I was thinking what was the reason for the wrong side of life, like war, revolution, suffering, and unhappiness in which people live, and I was rather puzzled to find how to end or transform it. I came to the conclusion that so long as our spiritual side will not receive an evolution the same as our material side, this negative side of human life will continue. That is quite comprehensible, because we speak of peace, what is peace? Peace is an ideal brotherhood of people based on the law of love.

Here comes the capital question—How can you produce the law of love if you are not prepared when you are young? Now, all the young are prepared for family life; of course there is religious education, but the religious education does not touch the people powerfully. Of course those that are spiritually prepared and go on to spiritual life are in the minority, but I speak of the masses. To prepare the masses for future peace instead of war we have to introduce what I call the spiritual education. That spiritual education is to give a possibility to our soul and spirit to evolve in a normal and sane way. Religious education comes in, certainly, but everything will be understood better when you have a spiritual preparation. After all, this is absolutely comprehensible, because when we prepare ourselves for some material career we have to study. The doctor has to learn for five or six years before he can practice his profession. Well, I say absolutely the same thing with our spiritual side. Our spirit has to be prepared. Being the father of seven children—and many of you are fathers—you probably have remarked how spirituality develops in the children, and how, gradually, when we get older, the spiritual side is more and more hidden, and when we become men nothing remains to save the soul except the deep nature of man.

When we ask what President Hoover and the Prime Minister of England, Mr. MacDonald, have done, of course it is a step to peace, but when you do not eliminate the reasons why wars can begin again you cannot have peace. Another reason is that so long as Russia has the Bolsheviki government, so long as they form the Red Army—which exists, according to them, specially to raise a monetary revolution—how can you get on?

I think that to preach peace one has to be above all the politics and above all the parties, be it Right, Left or Middle, because every party has, so to say, its program, and does not live for peace. I beg pardon of the present clergymen who are here, but I want to say that the Great War showed us that the Christian religion failed, because we all became like the people 2,000 years ago. This does not prove that the splendid religion of Christ failed, but it shows that in the last 2,000 years we have not found how to adopt its practice in the everyday life of the human being. That is what I am trying to show—how easy it is to adopt its principles in our life. Now, Christ, being God, is at the same time the greatest human being the earth ever possessed, because every word of His teaching is the life of the soul, and the evolution. His teaching is a moral and poetic expression of scientific principles. I am absolutely convinced that all His principles are scientific, and just now I am working on a book where I am trying to prove it..

Well, for me the War lasted three years. When the Revolution broke out I was in Kieff, that is the capital of South Russia. I must say that the act of Revolution, because of the action of people who started it, was a betrayal of the Emperor and of Russia. Just at the time when the Emperor was the chief of his 160,000,000 people it was pressed at his back. He could have suppressed them, because the army was absolutely loyal to him. I know it, first, from the branch of aviation in the army, and second, from my brother George, who was inspector, and having finished the inspection, of the full loyalty of the whole of the armies, and their readiness to continue the war .

The Emperor decided to abdicate, first, because he did not want to have civil war; secondly, because he was true to the allies and did not want to weaken the front; and thirdly, because he believed in the honesty and patriotism of the people who started the Revolution. Well, he made a great error, and was mistaken, because eight months later the Bolsheviki signed a shameful peace with the Germans. The Civil War lasted three years, and the provisional government which started the Revolution fled, and they are all now in Europe, fortunate to be alive.

One day after the Revolution I wakened up to the fact that I had lost everything—wealth, position and everything I had—but happily I had not lost my soul, which talked to me. (Applause.) Of course I had to consider all the values of the life which was no more valid to me, and gradually I came to understand that only one thing remained, only one power existed, only one happiness was worth while living for, and that was love—love for one's neighbour, love for the whole of humanity, and love for everything that is living. (Applause.) From this deep conviction came the birth of what I call the religion of love. This religion of love has nothing of myself in it, of course, because after all it is the purest religion of Christ. I call it religion because I could not find another word, but I can say that the religion of love is the same love which transmits to your mind and makes you think of God always according to the law of love, in other words, to the law on which our world is built. It is the positive law of the world, and if we do not follow this love of course we are all working against the universal harmony. Universal harmony does not result from work, but it is the ruling power that causes everything. I spoke of education. To produce the law of love you have to have a part of spiritual education, to possess it, as a matter of fact, without any effort.

Well, after that, being a prisoner of the provisional government and then prisoner of the Bolsheviki, my life was quite easy. I lost everything I had materially, so I gained everything spiritually, and now I have such richness which nobody and nothing can ever take from me. (Applause.) I can say absolutely sincerely and honestly that I was never so happy as I am now—which is, after all, comprehensible, because before I was not free; I was attached to some material interest; I had to spend my force as a Grand Duke, which, though it seems very nice, is after all a great burden. (Laughter.) Well, when I was offered all this I rested, and just came into the arms which I was always looking for.

Now, with me in Kieff was my mother-in-law, the Empress Marie, sister of Queen Alexandra of England, who passed her 84th year a year ago, and I had to think where to go to save her and to save my family. I decided to go to Crimea, another district in the south-east point of Russia, on the Baltic Sea, where I had a property; and my family came from St. Petersburg, and we were prisoners of the provisional government. From the time the Bolsheviki came into power in November it became less agreeable. We were shut up in one vault together, with Grand Duke Nicholas, ex-chief of the army, and his family. We could not go out except into the small garden. The food was bad, because the Bolsheviki wanted us to eat just the same as they had, and it was always pea soup. In my life as a soldier we had pea soup, but for the Empress of course it was awful. Our friends in the population succeeded in bringing us something, and fresh bread. The imprisonment lasted eight months, and the worst moments were the last four weeks, when the German army came to Crimea. Of course we knew nothing, because we had no newspaper or telegrams or letters, but our cheka was not a Bolshevik and he became our friend and wanted to save our lives. I say that was the worst time, because about 10 kilometres from our vault they decided to murder us before the Germans came, but the best civilians had not so decided, and they played on the more proper feelings of the soldiers and defended us. We were told that when the Germans came they would murder us, so there was a competition as to which would have the honour of murdering us—not a very agreeable situation, because it lasted four weeks, but I must say that being very religious, all of us, we never believed that we would be murdered, notwithstanding the enormous power of those who sent us there.

The Germans came one morning before Easter. I think it was the most happy one I ever lived, because they liberated us. Of course they did not agree there to liberate us, but the first time they were against the Bolsheviki and struck them by hundreds everywhere, and so they wanted to shoot our guard, and we had to hand in our names through our friend, and we asked them to be spared, because we did not want them to be Germans; so for two months more we had the same Bolsheviki guard, but they became absolutely loyal and saluted us, so we were again under the Russians.

I must say that the conduct of the Germans in the Crimea was marvellous. I might say that they were the angels of peace. They did just what their religion ordered, but I wanted to leave Russia under the Germans, but the German Emperor said we could not, so we had to remain till the Armistice and one month later, and we were allowed to enter the Black Sea, where the English, French, Italian and United States destroyers were. The English Admiral, who was my personal friend about twenty years before when I was captain of a battleship in the Black Sea, gave me a cruiser, and I went to Paris. I hurried there, because I wanted to open the eyes of the statesmen who were sitting in Paris at the Peace Conference; I wanted to speak before the Bolsheviki regime, but nobody would listen to me, because they thought that of course an ex-Grand Duke would speak against the Bolsheviki. I wanted to speak to them simply as a human being, about the terrible danger of this disease which will spread all over the world, as it proved.

You must understand that the Bolsheviki regime is built of the negative principles of life. The Bolsheviks are against Christ and everything spiritual in all religions. They are against any morals. They are for free love. In Russia a woman is not a woman, really, only to mate. If a woman wants to live with any man she is laughed at, and called "bourgeoisie", and the family principles are undermined. Thank God, such circumstances exist only in towns, but the great mass of the peasants still stick to their religion. I can say that they are more deeply religious than before. I was not there, but I can speak from those who have come. Such a word as "citizen" does not even exist in Russia. To them there is only one right, that is, the right to be poor. There is no freedom of conscience; there is no freedom of press.

They want everybody to be poor, because so long as people are poor they have power to hold the masses, but the moment people begin to prosper of course there is no question of Bolshevism left.

If you ask my opinion how long it will last, I am absolutely sure that a regime that is working against the principles of love cannot last, and of course countries who recognize the Bolsheviki go against the regime of the Russian people, because we must break with the Soviet, the Bolsheviki, and the Russian people are going to do so, for there are no Communists in the 140,000,000 Russian people. To recognize the Soviet is to give that government extra power and kill the hopes of the Russian people to get rid of them one day. Thank God the United States have not recognized them. Speaking there, I always say that if you are Christians you have Christian decency, and Christian honour does not allow you to recognize an element which openly fights God, makes blasphemous professions all over Europe, which has opened two institutes, one in Moscow and one in St. Petersburg, for the spread of atheism. It is beyond my view that any Christian can have anything to do with them; of course it is my personal opinion that I have to express.

When I came to Paris I began to work on spiritual lines. I am glad to be with you because, coming to a definite conclusion, I had to speak about it. I do not need to say that I have discovered something new; absolutely nothing; only I am prepared to give a new aspect to eternal truth which can be easily adopted, that is all. My program must end in the creation of new forms of life. It is the religion of love, its profession in acts and deeds and everything; secondly spiritual education; thirdly, a question which may perhaps astonish you; I mean that you give civil rights to the soul, and openly demand its possession and existence. It is strange to say that the supposed civilized countries have not officially admitted the existence of the soul, and have no laws to protect it. I insist on the fact that the soul has no rights at all. The body has, but the rights of the body coincide with the rights of the soul, and one cannot mix the two things together. The body is only the vehicle of the soul, but it is not the same thing. My program grants rights to the soul, and if we follow that program we will arrive at the reign of spirit. I mean, by that, the right to the body as part of the spirit. It may take hundreds of years, but I can start it to-morrow, because there is nothing to impart but what is needed in every one of us.

The positive side of the law of love is as if you thought of yourself as being an electric lamp through which the electric current passes. You know that you have to switch it on if you want to have work or light or heat. Well, in our spiritual life so long as we do not profess the religion of love we cannot get into contact with that superior power of God, which is the switch we must all have.

I could talk more, because the subject is enormous, so I will ask you to think on what I was telling you. I am not wanting to enforce any spiritual truth. The spiritual reform must not be enforced in any way; one must feel it in one's soul and mind. I may say that you can compare me with an artist, who, knowing that a beautiful view existed somewhere, he spent years finding it out and then presented it to the people. I do the same thing in Toronto, to present Christ, who over 2,000 years ago became an attraction, so to say. I felt such joy that I felt I must transmit the joy to my friends. (Loud applause.)

SIR WM. HEARST expressed the thanks of the Club, and asked for three cheers for the speaker, which were given heartily, amid loud applause.

NATIONALISM, ITS VALUES AND ITS EVILS

An Address by REV. CANON A. P. GOWER-REES.

24th October, 1929

Vice-President Charles Syrett introduced the speaker, who said: I chose my subject for this afternoon because I feel that it is the all-absorbing topic at the present moment among serious thinking men throughout the world. You know that the British Prime Minister has been over in the United States, and in all of his conversations you will discover a certain vision, a certain desire for world peace. But before we can arrive at that condition of world peace it is very necessary that every nation, every group of people, should realize their part in the larger whole; so it is necessary that we should be clear in our own mind as to what we mean by the term Nationalism.

Many of the controversies which sunder men derive their bitterness from misunderstanding about words. Words are labels for ideas, and as people grasp the ideas, which are ever changing, so the meaning of words also changes. Many of us, for instance, would agree upon the broader meaning of the term Nationalism, or about another word which we fling about with equal freedom—Patriotism; or take another word which is in common use—a Nation.

I am perfectly certain that there are not many of us but have a vague notion that we realize their meaning, though we find it very difficult to get a definition for those terms. Take, for instance, the word civilization, which lies at the very root of the other ideas which are covered in those terms. We talk freely about our modern civilization. We speak of it in a comfortable sort of way when we refer to civilization, past and present, or as when we speak of the Egyptian or Roman or modern civilization. But that word civilization had no place, even in Dr. Johnson's dictionary; he preferred the word "civility" rather than civilization. When we regard the term civilization in an abstract way we are inclined to think of a condition that is opposed to barbarism, a condition which is produced by intelligence as opposed to ignorance, produced by culture rather than uncouthness, of refinement rather than coarseness; so the true meaning of the word lies just there—that it is a condition which is opposed to barbarism, and the fundamental idea which we find there is that it has reference to the relationships between communities or peoples. Thus we have there the communal idea, which involves the affairs of the community, so that civilization is the best inter-relationship between people.

Then to switch over to the word Patriotism. We have got to the time when we use that word rather freely, perhaps not wisely. What does that word mean even to a good many people still? Love of one's country, a love which may make a demand upon us for great sacrifices. Again, it is a love for one's country's honour while avoiding hatred of other people. Again, patriotism may mean the readiness to stand and defend one's country if at any time there is danger that it may be attacked; the readiness to stand by one's nation. Again, I believe that our Patriotism should amount to this as well—the readiness to speak the truth about our own nation; we should not be prepared to cover its wrongs, but rather to admit its wrongs, and confess them freely. You remember the fate of Lord North, who was pleading that England should not go to war with the United States. He at that time became very unpopular, and it nearly broke his heart, because he dared to tell his people that he felt that it was wrong. Again, John Bright, in connection with the Crimean War, said the same thing. They were true patriots. Patriotism, the love of one's country, the love of one's people, a grateful readiness to sacrifice, if need be, for the sake of one's country.

Then we come to the word Nation. What do we mean by Nation? I think it was Renan who gave us a definition which seems to cover the ground; that that which constitutes a nation is not merely the speaking of the same language, not only belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things in the past together, and still cherishing the wish and desire to accomplish great things together in the future. There, I think, we have much to go upon to help us understand what we mean by a nation.

You know that when you and I look back upon the history of the past and think of the way in which nationality emerged we are forced back to the earlier centuries of the Christian era. When we think of the time when Christianity spread itself over the Empire, not over the nation, we discover that the Roman Empire included, absorbed in it, kingdoms and nations. They had become provinces within the empire, so that when Christianity entered into our western civilization it entered upon an empire, and it adapted itself to an empire rather than a nation; but when that empire broke up and its place was taken over by the church, the fond dream was realized of a Christian republic established by Charlemagne, in which it was discovered, or rather it was felt, that the question of nationalism did not arise—that it was possible for nations to live side by side and thereby, as it were, to have a central focus which unified the life of that empire; and that idea had an advocate in Rome. But when that church broke up, or its power broke down, then the nations gradually emerged—nations standing upon their own footing, nations claiming their own right, nations desiring a place in the sun, nations who cherished their own racial and national ambitions, nations who had their own dreams, nations that had visions of the possibility that they might secure a position of predominance over others.

So the nationalism gradually grew, and it is that national spirit that one finds so strong; and when you and I think of the national spirit we must not for a single moment imagine that it is a question of country or territory. Nationality is a spirit; it is a spirit that is to be found in the group or body of people, a spirit which seems to urge every single member of that community to contribute his best towards the welfare of that community.

Neither is the national spirit coterminus with national boundaries, neither is it to be defined by its language and its traditions. It is a spirit to be found within a body, a spirit urged to make great sacrifices. So enormous is the value of the national spirit that it would have been a calamity had it not been produced, for the life of the nation depends largely upon that national spirit. Notwithstanding that in the twentieth century the doctrine was the doctrine of unfettered sovereignty, the war came and destroyed that, and brought about the collapse of that doctrine. A new vision came to men. They saw that that doctrine could only lead to catastrophe. They could see that that spirit, encouraged in any way, and allowed to spread further, would mean the suicide of the human family. In the twentieth century it has become a disease; it was an infection in Europe. It spread from the larger states to the smaller states, the twenty-three states of Europe that were seeking a place in the sun. The result was that there was conflict. That national spirit had received an undue accentuation during the nineteenth century, and the war came to correct it.

You know that when you and I go back to Renan's definition of a nation we can perhaps understand why Poland, torn asunder over two centuries, still remained a nation; why Bohemia and Hungary, though absorbed in the larger state, still remained a nation, still retained their national and their racial ambitions. We can understand, perhaps with more difficulty, why Ireland, though identified with Great Britain for over eight centuries, still remained a nation. The national spirit, as Mr. Simmons declares, is very much like religion. It is subjective psychologically. It is a spiritual thing of their thinking and feeling. It is something indescribable. It almost approaches the impenetrable, this national spirit. It has tremendous value, which rouses each member of a community or nation to action for that community; readiness to obey the will of the government; readiness, as it were, to fall in with others; bound together and unified by a common sympathy. It is a mighty power, and its value cannot be exaggerated.

But, instead of that, we have lived to see the result of an over-emphasis of that type of nationalism. Remember that until 1870 Germany was not a nation, but after 1870 it became a nation, and we know what the result was. When Germany became a nation it was moved to see the possibility that it might predominate others, might seek, as it were, to be the master spirit and mind amongst the nations of the world. So with Italy until the days of Garibaldi and of the influence of Victor Emmanuel and Mazzini, until the states of Italy were linked up into a nation. Then, thinking of the notable deeds that had been done upon its soil, thinking of the great things that had been uttered in its language, they looked forward to the possibility that some day Italy might dominate the rest of the world.

But that unfortunate over-emphasis of nationalism must lead to catastrophe, as we saw during the war. The question that then arises is just this: How can we preserve that national spirit, that spirit which has inspired the great products of our literature, that spirit which has done so much to make civilization possible, that spirit which has moved men to great deeds for their fellowmen—how can that be produced and yet its evils averted? Can it be done? How can we preserve its sacred possibilities for humanity and yet avoid the terrible result of the passions of the arrogant nationalism which were wakened up by the war? Can it be done? I believe it can.

To my mind it is very appropriate that we should speak upon this subject at this particular time; and when one thinks that last Monday was Trafalgar Day my mind goes across the Atlantic to two statues; one of the great admiral, and the message that he sent out on Trafalgar Day—"England expects that every man this day will do his duty." Expects; is confident; England trusts, expects. That was the true national spirit, and Nelson gave expression to it. The national spirit of his day, like the religion of statesmen, and the soul of the man in the spirit a hundred years ago. Then I think of the other statue, that of Edith Cavell—she who, knowing the consequences, yet dared; who at the last gave utterance to that new nationalism, to that new vision, that new spirit that we must cultivate—"Patriotism is not enough; nationalism is not enough." You and I are called upon, as it were, to pass out of this nationalism till we reach that internationalism which, while it respects nationalism, transcends it; that internationalism which will mean that all nations of the world may co-operate; that we shall have in the future a co-partnership; and with that co-partnership the human family may safely and securely advance to its highest development.

That is what one feels at the present time as one of our needs. I believe that we need all the utterances of our great statesmen at the present time, and when we listen to those speeches of our statesmen in Europe at the moment and listen to the representatives of other nations out of Europe we discover that same desire, the desire of nations, those at least who have come to the recognition of the need of an understanding between the nations, that together they may contribute towards securing that condition, the only condition of survival which, by the aid of nations working together, will become common.

It has been said by Laviolette, the eminent Belgian socialist, that as the culture of a people advances, and as racial passion loses its power, international memories assume the place of the racial. And I believe it was Mill, in his Representative Government in 1862, who declared that what we have to remember to-day is that a people or a nation becomes possible when the people have a community of recollection; that is, that they are in possession of a national history. The same thing was said by Mr. Renan when he declared that a nation was a community that had accomplished great things in the past together, and they may have a unity of recollections; yes, they may have regrets and pleasures; they may have humiliations and pride in looking back upon incidents of the past together .

Here is our young country. Here we have a people made up of various races. To make up a nation is not necessary that there shall be an identity of races, but rather that they have together accomplished something, and thus we may create that true national spirit which will make a true advancement in this new country with all its possibilities and potentialities, that will ensure a future that seems very bright, if at this moment we can only keep our eyes clear to see what we might do in our day and generation to contribute towards the building up of that power which comes through and is produced by a true national spirit.

REV. DR. CODY voiced the thanks of the Club to Canon Gower-Rees.

THE MUSIC OF THE PEOPLE

An Address by MR. J. MURRAY GIBBON, Montreal.

(Assisted by Miss Mary Frances James, Soprano; Mr. Herbert Hewitson, Tenor; and Mr. Harold Eustace Key, Pianist.)

31st October, 1929

President Eayrs introduced the speaker, who called on Mr. Hewitson for a solo, after which he said: Before I talk to my subject, I would like to tell you a little thing. The song which Mr. Herbert Hewitson has just sung to you—"The Twelve Days of Christmas"—is a song particularly popular in English country gatherings for a reason which may interest you, namely, that it is looked upon as a test of sobriety. In my young days in Scotland, when the police ran in any suspect on the charge of "drunk and disorderly", his condition was tested by the distinctiveness with which he could pronounce the words "British Constitution". Now, among English folk-singers at gatherings where beer and cider flowed freely, the test by which the sobriety of any singer was decided was that he should be able to sing through "The Twelve Days of Christmas" without making any mistakes, and I think on that test we may say that Mr. Hewitson is perfectly sober. (Laughter.)

The title of this address is "The Music of the People". Now, under the title I mean to deal with folksong, but I find that if you speak of folksong to some people in Canada, they look as if they wanted to run away, just as happens when you pass round the hat in Aberdeen, so I thought it wise to get my audience first in such a position that running away would not be so easy. I find that many people here in Canada think of folksong as something remote and crude, tunes which are sung only by very elderly people on farms over in Europe, and if they are sung in Canada at all, it is only by the habitants in French Canada. As a matter of fact, there is quite a lot of folkmusic here in Toronto, although we don't call it that. The song "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" is a folksong, Christmas Carols such as "The First Nowell" are folksongs, dances such as the Highland Fling, the Irish Jig and the Sailor's hornpipe, are folkdances, and the tune of The British Grenadiers is a good old English folktune. The singing games that Toronto children play are folkgames—games such as "Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush" and "London Bridge is Falling Down". At any Scotch concert more than half the programme is folksong—Robert Burns, for instance, considered it his great life work to take traditional tunes, folktunes, that might have been forgotten, as the words were poor or were written in Gaelic, and rewrote the words so that they could be generally sung. "John Anderson, My Jo-John", is a typical instance of a folksong reconstructed by Burns. To-night is Hallowe'en, and at every Scottish gathering Scottish folksongs will be sung. What Burns did for Scottish folktunes Tom Moore did for Irish, and in the last thirty years we have had an army of collectors and musicians recording, preserving and re-arranging the traditional folksongs of the British peoples—who represent more than half of the stock of the Canadian people.

There are other folktunes which are familiar to you, although you don't think of them as folktunes—and these you hear in church. Toronto is said to be inhabited by more men who go to church on Sunday in proportion to the population than any other city in Canada, and that in spite of the fact that Toronto has more golf courses than any other city in Canada. (Laughter.) The other day I happened to look over an account of the tunes in a hymn book called the Church Hymnary—used extensively by the Presbyterian Church—and there I found that thirty-three of the tunes were definitely stated to be folktunes: 20 English, 9 Irish, 2 Gaelic and 2 Welsh.

Hymn Number 70, for instance, which begins with the words:

Come praise your Lord and Saviour
In strains of holy mirth

is sung to a tune called "Gosterwood", which is really the tune of an old English folksong, "The Brisk Young Lively Lad".

It's of a brisk young lively lad
Came out of Gloucestershire
And all his full intention
Was to court a lady fair.

The last half of this tune also appears in the old song "In The Bay of Biscay, O". Then Hymn No. 174, which begins:

Rest of the weary,
Joy of the sad

is given as sung to the tune "Fortune". Now this tune is a folktune sung in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and known then as "the hanging tune", for at any public execution the crowd used to join in singing a ballad to this tune with the words:

Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown on me?

In addition to these British folktunes, the Church Hymnary, and indeed any hymnbook, contains a great many folktunes associated with hymns taken over from the Lutheran, Moravian and Huguenot psalters and hymnbooks—for Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Huss, Clement Marot and Theodore de Beza all believed in adapting sacred words to popular melodies. It was through the use of this music of the people that the Protestant Reformation was popularized in Europe—the Reformed religion floated into the hearts of the people on the wings of folkmusic. Without these popular hymn and psalm tunes, Protestant doctrines could never have captured the fancy of the people; Great Britain might still have remained Catholic; and without its Protestant churches where would Toronto be?

Now, Martin Luther who was perhaps the greatest of the Reformers, used folktunes not only because they were popular, but also because they were good tunes. He was a musician himself, and a good singer. The very essence of a folksong is that it should be traditional, handed down from generation to generation. In that process of handing down from generation to generation, there is the survival of the fittest—the poor tunes pass out and are forgotten. The good tunes are kept alive—sometimes indeed improving as they go, as they are passed from one singer to another. They survive because their melodies have a wide appeal and satisfy many listeners. As Cecil Sharp, a great English folksong collector, has said: "Folksongs are the true classics of the people, and their survival, often by tradition alone, proves that their appeal is direct and lasting."

At this very time there is a great revival of interest in folkmusic in England, due not only to the singing of folksong on the concert platform and to the introduction of folksong into the music taught in schools, but also to the revival of country and Morris dances through the influence of the English Dance Society. This Society was started only eighteen years ago, but in spite of the interruption of the War, it has already 15,000 subscribing members, with branches all over the country. It has captured the imagination of all classes of society, so that to-day there are several hundred thousand English people who engage in these country dances, while the United States is dancing to the appalling cacophony of jazz.

The English dances are in many cases identified with very beautiful tunes dating from the seventeenth century or even earlier, at a time when England was one of the most musical countries in Europe. If we are going to keep open the doors of Canada to British immigration and to British ideas and British civilization, we are going to have a revival of these old English country dances here, because the immigrants that are destined to come here are dancing these dances to those folktunes, learning them in their schools and keeping on dancing when they grow up.

I find there are many Canadians who think that the only folkmusic we have here in Canada is that of the French Canadians. Now there is no question that the French Canadians have preserved a rich body of very lovely folkmusic, but as a matter of fact every racial group coming from Europe to Canada is bringing with it a wealth of folkmusic in song and dance, and this should be preserved as a most precious asset instead of being allowed to disappear through neglect, indifference or hostility. For in addition to its value to Canadian culture, the recognition of this folkmusic will do more to assimilate and create mutual confidence between the various racial groups composing the Canadian people than anything else. (Hear, hear.)

To illustrate this, let me tell you a story about a group of German settlers near Winnipeg. Eighteen months ago I was helping to organize a New Canadian Folkmusic Festival at Winnipeg, the object of which was to demonstrate to Anglo-Canadians in the West the wealth and charm of the folkmusic brought to Canada by the Continental Europeans. In the preliminary organization no place had been kept for the Germans, but I found that about a year before a Colony of German immigrants from the Black Forest had settled about thirty miles from Winnipeg at a place appropriately called "Little Britain". The leader of this Colony was a Dr. Schneider, formerly a lawyer, assisted by his wife, a doctor of medicine. When I suggested that they should present a group of German folksongs, they hesitated. "We were fighting you ten years ago," said Dr. Schneider, "we might not be welcome." When I assured him that we would not invite them if we did not want them, he consulted Frau Doctor Schneider, who said, "what do you mean by folksong? I don't think we have any." Now, I happened to have lived at one time in the Black Forest, and had learned there some of their songs, so I hummed over one called "Jetzt geh' i ans Brunnele", and asked her if she knew that. "Sure I do," she answered. Then I hummed over another called "Muss i' denn, muss i' denn". At that she laughed and said, "that's the song we sang at Freiburg when we got on the train to come to Canada." Now this song, "Muss i' denn", is a parting song—it tells the story of a young fellow leaving the village for the town. The girl he leaves behind him is afraid that he will lose his heart to the girls in town and forget her, but he assures her that he will come back again safe and sound in heart and will not forget her. You can see why these simple Black Forest people sang this song as they got on the train for Canada.

To make a long story short, they came to our Festival, fifteen of them, driving in in their farm truck, and with their simple songs, sung with such evident sincerity, and with their quaint country dances, they completely captivated their audience. (Applause.)

But that is not the end of the story. Mr. Harold Eustace Key, our musical director, had planned for our last concert a grand *ensemble* of the various racial groups —there were eighteen of them—who were singing in this Festival. Each group, after doing its song and dance, went to the back of the stage in turn, so that at the close there was to be a massed group of about 400 people in picturesque European peasant costumes, all of whom were to close the concert by singing "O Canada" and "God Save the King". Now, these Germans had been only a year in the country, and it was thought that it would be rather rubbing it in if we were to ask them to sing these patriotic songs so soon. But when these Germans heard of this, they came and asked if they might not be allowed also to join in. They had been so delighted with their reception at their first appearance that they felt they belonged; and so for this final concert they drove in again on their farm truck, and with the other seventeen racial groups of New Canadians, the Germans sang "O Canada" and "God Save the King". (Loud applause.) They were, so to speak, like the mother who has shown you her baby, and to whom you have said that the baby is the most beautiful baby you have ever seen. For folksong is the most intimate thing in the life of a people. It is bound up with their most cherished memories and traditions. So if you take an interest in it, say you find it beautiful, you gain their confidence in a way that is surprising.

Talking of babies in connection with folksong brings me to think of one of the reasons why some of the folksongs brought to Canada three hundred years ago by the early French Canadian settlers are still sung in the Province of Quebec, and indeed in the Province of Ontario, for in the Census of 1921 I find that Ontario had nearly 250,000 French Canadians listed—that is to say, one out of twelve of the population. Now, the French Canadian mother always sings as she rocks her baby to sleep, and as a rule she sings one of these old folksongs—sometimes just a lullaby with the refrain "do—do", but as often as not a folksong that is sung just because it is rhythmic. Now, as you know, there is no race suicide among the French Canadians, and so the mother who has in her lifetime to sing seventeen babies to sleep is not likely to forget the songs she sings beside the cradle. (Laughter); and that, I think, is a Made-in-Canada movement. (Laughter.)

To come back to the Germans, you may say: "Well, that was in Winnipeg, and Winnipeg is a long way off from Toronto." And to that I reply once more with statistics. In the census for 1921 I find that the Ontario population listed as of German stock is numbered as 130,345, representing about one in fifteen of your population. And in one of your newspapers last week I read: "In the last five months Ontario got more than any other Province of the 100,257 immigrants who came to Canada. The distribution among the Provinces is as follows: Ontario 38,080; Manitoba 30,553; Quebec 14,494; Alberta 10,262; Saskatchewan 7,193," etc. And then follows the statement that of the 100,000 immigrants, 9,642, or almost one-tenth, were Germans. Now, what is being done to assimilate these Germans? Are they being brought in merely to provide labour, or are they being welcomed as human beings? What effort is being made to win their confidence, so that they may be quickly assimilated? In this matter of assimilation, I venture to think that the story of our experience with folkmusic at Winnipeg has some value.

From the Germans let us pass to the Poles. Some years ago Ralph Connor (Dr. Charles W. Gordon) wrote a book called "The Foreigner", in which he gave a realistic and not very flattering picture of the Slav quarter in Winnipeg. We had at our New Canadian Folksong Festival a group of Polish dancers who did eight out of the sixty or more figures in the Polish National Dance—the Mazur. They were beautiful dancers, superbly costumed, and I thought it would do Dr. Gordon good if he were to see them. At the end of the concert he came to me and said, "I want to take off my hat to these Poles—it was one of the most beautiful sights I ever saw. I had always thought of Poles as husky coal-heaver people—and now here I find them dainty, cultured and refined. They have completely changed my conception of them." The result was that he came to every concert we held, and became the warmest advocate of our whole folksong festival movement in the West, which is to demonstrate to the Anglo-Canadians of the West the beauty and charm of the folkmusic brought to this country by Continental Europeans. Ralph Connor was not the only one to be impressed. Premier Gardiner, of Saskatchewan, wrote to say he had heard so much of the effect of the Winnipeg Festival in creating good feeling between the different racial groups that he asked us to organize a similar Festival for Saskatchewan at Regina. The Regina Festival has been followed by a similar request from Premier Brownlee of Alberta, and we are at present organizing a Folksong and Dance Festival for next March, to be held at Calgary.

In the brief time allotted to me I cannot tell you one-tenth of what I could tell you about the folk music presented by these eighteen racial groups of non-British and British stock in Western Canada,—but I wish you could have heard the Icelandic Choir with their soft, mellow voices in folksongs from their little northern island—an island, by the way, which set up a Parliament a thousand years ago, and which will celebrate the millenium of that Parliament next year. I wish you could have seen the grace and charm of the Swedish dancers, who had one dance that was a students' dance dating from the time of Gustavus Adolphus, three hundred years ago. I wish that your Mendelssohn Choir could have heard the two Ukrainian Choirs from Winnipeg and Saskatoon, singing the most difficult choruses from memory, without a sheet of music in front of them. I wish you could have seen and heard the Gaelic folk play produced by Hebrideans of Vancouver.

What these Festivals have demonstrated is the immense wealth of natural culture brought to Canada by immigrants who in most cases were originally European peasants. And what we ought to realise is that the folk music and the taste for music these people have brought with them can play a priceless part in making richer the culture of the Canadian people. Now, the advantage that Canada has is that it has all the wealth of traditional music of all these races right within its own borders, with immigrants of naturally musical taste whose children are bringing their natural taste for good music into the schools. If we are to think of Canada merely as a wheat-producing country, of course that does not count; but if we think of Canada as a country that means to hold its own in the arts as well as in the possession of dollars, then it counts for a good deal—if only we keep the instinct for the arts alive.

If we do welcome and foster the artistic instincts of the New Canadians, we shall be following the tradition of the English themselves, whose artistic culture has been greatly enriched by the children of naturalized aliens. The other day I asked a musical friend to name six outstanding English composers of to-day. The names he gave me were: Frederick Delius, Gustav Holst, Eugene Goessens, R. Vaughan Williams, Sir Edward Elgar, Arnold Bax. Now, of these six musicians, four are of European Continental stock, naturalized in England, whose work is, curiously enough in three cases, founded largely on folk music. They are names of which England has good reason to be proud, even though their stock may not be of Anglo-Saxon origin. (Applause.)

I wonder if we realise how much of the pioneering work done in Canada, how much of the history of Canada, has been, so to speak, made to music? The French who came to Canada three hundred years ago were a singing people, and they and their descendants sang at their work—the adventurous voyageurs as they paddled their canoes, the women as they sat at the loom and the spinning wheel. For a vast proportion of folksong is worksong, with the rhythm that accompanies the action. The worker who works with his hands and not with machinery sings or whistles as he works; and we may be sure that the pioneers who cleared the forests and ploughed the land in the early days—whether they were French of Normandy or Highlanders from Scotland sang as they toiled. It was to the rhythm of some such song as "A la Claire Fontaine" that the French adventurers paddled up the St. Lawrence in the year 1755, and established Fort Rouille on the site of the future City of Toronto, so that one may truly say that Toronto itself was founded on folksong. This song "A la Claire Fontaine" which came to Canada from Saint Onge three hundred years ago is still one of the most popular and widespread songs among the French Canadian people. It has survived because, like nearly all folksong, it is a good song and lies close to the heart of the people. (Applause.)

Now, I have been talking long enough, and I think the best thing to do is to demonstrate by a few examples how interesting the folksong is.

Miss James then sang "Where Sleeps the Queenly Maiden", "Muss i' denn", and "When I was Fourteen"—

the latter being a favourite with Jenny Lind—Mr. Key accompanying on the piano. The closing selection was "A la Claire Fontaine", sung by the trio, all being greeted with applause.

Mr. R. E. Knowles, in a humorous speech, voiced the thanks of the Club for the interesting address and delightful entertainment.

YOUNG AMBASSADORS OF EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY COLONEL E. S. WIGLE, K.C.

7th November, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker, who said: Mr. President, Members of the Empire Club, it is a great pleasure and a distinct honour to be invited to speak to the members of this Club. Coming as I do from the most south-westerly part of the Province of Ontario it might be suspected that my thoughts of empire might be somewhat contaminated by my proximity to our neighbours in the great republic to the south, but I come to you to-day as a Canadian-born, having lived all my life in Canada. But, strong as I am as a Canadian, I am just that much stronger as a Britisher. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Gentlemen, to-day I am to deliver some thoughts which I have with regard to the Empire, first. I am going to speak to you to-day in the same way as a young clergyman who was invited to speak to the prisoners in a penitentiary, and the warden, in answer to his questions as to the manner he should adopt in addressing the prisoners, replied, "Just come along and speak to them as you would talk to your own congregation; the only difference is that your chaps have not been caught yet, and mine have." (Laughter.) So I just feel that I can speak to you to-day just as I feel.

As a Canadian I often think of what a wonderful heritage we have in the national resources of our country, the greatest in the world. We do not know the bounds of our lands, forests, fisheries and agriculture. Then I feel that a large percentage of the people of Canada have a great heritage in the stock from which we came—the very fine stock of Old England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and France; a stock that has done so much for the

British Empire and for all the European countries. Our hope is that we may do for Canada what those men have done for the British Empire.

We have the two names associated—Canada and the Empire. There are many things that sometimes tend to disturb that feeling of empire which we have in Canada. I particularly wish to mention, though a great many of you may differ from me, one in regard to the flag. Being a thorough Britisher, I stand four-square for the maintaining of the grand Old Union Jack as the flag of Canada. (Hear, hear and applause.) Every man may have his own opinion in regard to it, and it may be a matter of sentiment, but when you look back at the history of Canada since the Conquest, every war we have fought has been under the old Union Jack; in the War of 1812, in the South African War, when we sent 1,000 men from Canada under the command of that splendid Britisher, General Wm. D. Otter (applause); again, when the Great War came on we sent 500,000 men from Canada, and they fought under the Union Jack side by side with the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America and with the tri-colour of France. So there is a great deal of sentiment with me in regard to retaining the grand old Union Jack as the flag of Canada. It has been floating over all our educational institutions, our halls of learning, our judicial buildings and our public buildings, and now it floats over all our public schools in the various provinces of this Dominion. Any one coming from the United States into Canada and seeing the Union Jack need have no doubt about where he is, for he knows that he is in Canada and a part of the British Empire. It may be a matter of sentiment, but I am strongly convinced that it is better for Canada, as a part of the British Empire, to retain the grand old Union Jack. I think there is nothing that can ever make us, as Canadians, forget that flag under which our infancy has been developed and defended, and it has created in the national life a spirit of freedom, British fair play and protection.

We have recently had a personal interview between the Premier of old England and the President of the United States looking towards an Anglo-American pact in regard to the peace and happiness of the world. My thought has been that if at the ending of the War, instead of an Armistice being declared, the enemy had been called upon to surrender and lay down their arms, and if the United States at that time had been strongly bound up with the British Empire and with France and the other allied forces, and a peace pact had been dictated by the British Empire and the United States combined, from which the United States could not have declined, then I say we would have had what they are endeavouring to bring about to-day—an Anglo-American alliance which would have said to the world, "We shall have peace"; because those two nations behind a peace pact could have enforced it at any time. Then they would have done something on which we could rely for the peace and happiness of all nations.

I am not given to quoting very often from one of our distinguished statesmen, because in his day I differed from him in politics—I refer to Sir Wilfred Laurier. He issued these words in 1889 at a banquet at Chicago, speaking to the toast of Canada:—

> Can we not hope that if ever the banners of England and the banner of the United States are again to meet on the battle-field they shall meet entwined together in defence of some holy cause, the defence of some holy justice, for the defence of the oppressed, for the enfranchisement of the downtrodden, and for the advancement of liberty, progress and civilization?

(Hear, hear and applause.) Those words became true in the late War when we had the United States and the British Empire fighting side by side for freedom, justice, the protection of the weak as against the strong; so that if Sir Wilfred could have lived until to-day I am satisfied that he would have had the same view—that while the United States and the British Empire had their banners entwined, if a peace pact had been drawn up at that time and signed by those two great nations, we could have been assured of peace and happiness for ever.

In addition to that, there would have been no necessity for the British Empire strengthening its navy by building greater and stronger ships, or for the United States spending millions of dollars to build greater ships for their navy. The navy which those two countries had at the close of the war would have been a sufficient protection for all the high seas. A solemn pact between those nations for the peace of the world would have given peace, and at less expense than under the present plant. Those are my sentiments with regard to the British Empire as a Canadian, a Britisher, coming from United Empire Loyalist stock. Like Sir John Macdonald, one of the other great statesmen, I can say, "A British subject I was born, and a British subject I will die." (Applause.) So if we take the sentiments of those two great statesmen, as uttered in the days when they were active, I say we have before us a picture which words cannot explain, and we do well to follow the sentiments of those statesmen who made Canada great in their day. (Hear, hear.)

Now I come to the subject about which I am to speak more particularly, the Boy Scout movement, which has been very dear to my heart ever since its inception in Canada, I joined the movement in 1910, and I have seen its commencement and its growth. I am to speak of the great jamboree which has just taken place in Old England, near Birkenhead. In 1924 there was an imperial conference of the Boy Scouts in England, and in the same year there was a meeting of Boy Scouts at Copenhagen. The international jamboree this year assembled in one of the beautiful English parks, containing 450 acres. There were 50,000 boys from 42 different countries, representing over 2,000,000 Boy Scouts throughout the world. It would be impossible to picture the event in words; a man must see it in order to get the impression which I got.

We sent 160 boys to represent the Dominion of Canada, from the extreme points of the West, as far North as Fort Simpson to the extreme points of the East. Those boys were selected according to a certain standard. They must be between 15 and 18 years of age, and they must have been qualified to obtain the King's Scout's badge, which is the highest a Boy Scout can obtain. Those boys were divided into four troops, which were named after four Governors-General of the Dominion of Canada—Willingdon, Byng, Connaught and Devonshire. Those boys were placed in different troops, so that they were mixed up from East to West and from North to South. Those boys were stalwart, clean, splendid looking boys from excellent families. You can see the reason, then, for what is quoted from an English newspaper on the card calling this meeting. Speaking of the Canadian Camp that newspaper said:—

> Their camp was much the best I saw. They are the only unit, except Australia, which measures up to the full woodcraft standard formulated by Baden-Powell. They have received the highest praise for their equipment, discipline and general scoutcraft.

That is a wonderful tribute to the Canadian boys. (Applause.)

When the Duke of Connaught came to open the camp he asked for a guard, and some Canadian boys were selected to form that guard, after a keen competition with all the Boys Scouts which were in camp. The Canadians won out on the keen competition by reason of the facts stated in this notice. Naturally, of course, the troop with the name of Connaught was selected for his inspection, and a finer lot of boys you could not have looked at. I have a picture of them here showing the grand old Duke of Connaught passing down the line and shaking hands with every boy, and congratulating them upon their experience, and expressing his delight that he was able to shake hands with the boys from Canada representing the Boy Scout movement

When the jamboree opened we had a large field in which the boys were all assembled, facing a large arena capable of holding 50,000 people. Unfortunately the weather was not such as it ought to be, for we had rain all the time, and when it did not rain in the daytime it rained at night; but on the day when the camp was opened the sun was shining beautifully. I saw 50,000 boys march past, the boys in front carrying banners from 42 nations in the world—little Japs, Australians, New Zealanders, Russians, Germans, Belgians, Norwegians, Swedes, a chap from Czecho-Slovakia, and all those different countries, and from Denmark, the Duke of Connaught and Baden-Powell taking the salute.

I saw a very amusing incident when the little Japs came along. The Canadian boys had gone by in perfect step by reason of their special selection. Some of the others were not able to keep step as well as the Canadian boys. When the little Jap boys came along it was very comical to see them imitate the German "goose-step" as they went past the saluting post. Another striking incident was that there were 300 Boy Scouts from the United States—a pretty good representation—but not as fine a lot of boys and not of the standard that our boys were. (Laughter.) They came along, and in the salute they pulled off a stunt which took well with the British people. Each boy had a miniature flag of Stars and Stripes on his breast, and when the command was given, "Eyes Right!" each boy pulled out the little Stars and Stripes and waved it to Sir Baden-Powell and sang "He's a Jolly Good Fellow." You can imagine the thrill that would go through the crowd on seeing the large beautiful flags at the head of the troop and the small flags as they came to the saluting post. What a wonderful sight to behold, and it brought a cheer from the splendid English people. You know, it has got to be something to catch the Englishman over there, to show any great degree of enthusiasm for anything; he is slow to move, but when he does he goes some. (Laughter.) This sight was beautiful in the extreme. After they had all marched past they assembled in front of the grand stand, and the Duke of Connaught and Sir Baden-Powell addressed them.

To show exactly what the movement meant I will present to you another picture. Our Dominion Government had established a tent in the Canadian Camp, and in it were different products of Canada, not in very large number, but they had a beautiful map of the Dominion. I was privileged to be present in the camp, and took a great interest in explaining to the boys from other countries Canada's extent from east to west and north to south, and pointing out our wealth in the different provinces. They were very much interested. One day a couple of little chaps walked into the tent arm-in-arm. One was as black as the ace of spades, his teeth were as white as ivory, and his eyes sparkling like diamonds. Alongside of him was a little English boy, and as they came in I said, "Well boys, I am glad to see you; I suppose you are twins, are you?" The English boy said, "No, Sir, we are not twins." I said, "where did you get this boy from?" He replied, "I am from Ceylon." I said, "You are not camping and living together, are you?" The English boy said, "No, this little chap came along and asked if I could show him where the Canadians were, and I told him to come along and I would show him." So those two boys had never met before. They were greatly interested in the exhibit of Canada as displayed there, and I tell you it thrilled my heart just to see them, for there was an example of the spirit of the Boy Scout camp. Those boys had never seen each other before, but we had 50,000 boys in camp for two weeks, and there was not a misdemeanour that called for any strict discipline. (Applause.) I want to say to you gentlemen, you fathers—probably some of you have boys in the Boy Scout movement—that you could not get 50,000 boys of that age together with such a record if they had not had the Boy Scout movement. That is what the Boy Scout movement is doing to-day throughout the world.

I want to emphasize some things that took place there.

We had a splendid service on Sunday. The Archbishop of Canterbury was there, and Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, representing the Catholic boys who were in camp. Picture to yourselves those 50,000 boys assembled, and the arena filled with the people of England and other countries. I saw men high up in military life of France, with three rows of ribbons across their breast; members of Parliament; generals in the army, and men of high standing in those foreign countries who were there enjoying every minute what was going on. I want to read you extracts from messages which those high dignitaries left with us, and coming from such eminent men they mean much to our Boy Scout movement. The service was held on the 4th of August, the anniversary of the outbreak of War, and the Archbishop of Canterbury made allusion to that, and then, referring to the Boy Scouts, he said:

> Here is a power without which treaties and leagues are of little avail. It is a power of the spirit. It passes into you and lays hold of you through the instinct of comradeship one with another. You are learning it when you see boys of many nations and many languages wearing the same Scout's uniform and obeying the same Scout law and when around the camp fire you meet together. In future days, when you have become citizens of your various countries, you will remember and know that, in spite of any differences which may arise, you are all brothers.

That was the sentiment expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and further on this:

> Thus day by day, by an instinct you are scarcely aware of, you are discovering that happiness does not go with selfishness and that what makes life worth living is not success for self but the service of others.

That was the message delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the greatest men in the Church of England. Then Cardinal Bourne used these words:

> It may be well to recall to you the attitude which I have always held towards the Boy Scout movement.

> Almost at the outset I was honoured by being consulted by its founder, the Chief Scout, who very courteously sought my advice. I discussed the whole matter with him, and I was assured that Scouts would always be taught to follow the voice of their conscience and to worship God as they best knew how; that those who had well-defined religious convictions would be helped and encouraged to worship God in accordance with those convictions; . . . . . .
>
> I am glad, therefore, to have this opportunity of testifying once again to my esteem and deep appreciation of the Scout movement; and of encouraging the Catholics of every nation to give it their warm sympathy and support. I congratulate Sir Robert Baden-Powell on the extraordinary success which has been given to the work with which his name is for ever associated. From my heart I most earnestly beg God's blessing upon the Boy Scouts, the Rovers and the Cubs, and all their leaders and masters, to whatever race, to whatever religion they may belong.

Now, I say that is a wonderful statement in behalf of the Boy Scout movement.

Then we had the Prince of Wales there, who came and delivered a message from his father, the King of England. I am going to read to you what the Prince had to say, because I think it is of considerable importance, for it came from the Empire and was given right in the heart of Empire where those Boy Scouts were from all nations of the world. The people of England were wonderfully kind to those boys from foreign nations, and I am satisfied that when they went back to their own countries they will never forget what they saw and the treatment they received at that jamboree. I will not take the time to read the message from the King, but I want to read a few words from the speech of the Prince of Wales, who is the Chief Scout of Wales. He said: —

> The British way of expressing the idea is to say, "Scouting breeds true sportsmanship." But sportsmanship is not an easy word to define. It means straight dealing and playing the game. It means self-reliance, and at the same time team work, playing for your side and not for yourself, winning without swank, losing without bad temper. It also means thoughtfulness and

> making allowances for others. It is an idea of loyalty and of service. The one thing it hates like poison is selfishness.

Those observations are very like the Prince. Here is a picture of the 50,000 Boy Scouts assembled from the different nations in the world, and the British boy, and others from the British Empire listening to the message from the King, which said, in effect, "I am very sorry indeed that I cannot be present myself, but I am sending to you my son, and his sentiments are my sentiments with regard to the Boy Scout movement." (Applause.) Could there be any greater picture, or anything more beautiful than that presented to those 50,000 boys? When they go to their homes, spread over every part of the world, they will not carry merely a newspaper message, but it is going to be a message carried by those Boy Scouts themselves into their homes and their countries. They are going to carry the Boy Scout message and the impressions which they received at that great jamboree.

I say here, without contradiction, that this Boy Scout movement, spread all over the world, is a mightier power for the peace and happiness of the world than all the leagues of nations or any other league you may form among diplomatic people and try to enforce. I say that this movement in the homes, with their mothers and fathers and playmates and associates, is going to be a stronger impulse for the peace of the world than all the Leagues of Nations which you may draw up and endeavour to enforce. That is my idea of the splendid Boy Scout movement. (Applause.)

The Canadian boys were taken for the trip through old England and into dear old Scotland. You will observe by my language, of course, that I am Scotch—(laughter)—but as a Canadian, having visited those countries several times I am filled with the spirit that prevailed. Our boys were taken to the dear old Abbey, and they deposited a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Soldier. On this particular day Westminster Abbey was filled with visitors, and a great number had come from the United States. The visitors were requested to stand back and give the boys room to march in. The ceremony was so solemn, and done with such grace and feeling by the boys, that men and women could be seen wiping the tears from their eyes. Probably some had lost a dear friend on the battle-field, and some may have had some other sentiments. Will those boys ever forget that, or forget old London, which they saw in all its greatness? Will they ever forget the day when the Duke of Connaught took them out to his home and gave them a splendid time there? Or the ride to Windsor, Eton, Oxford, Cambridge, all through the north of England and Scotland—Edinburgh, Glasgow, and all those places? Or is it possible that those boys coming back to Canada will ever forget the impression they got from the wonderful treatment meted out to them in the jamboree and in their trip to old England?

Now, just as I am emphatic in regard to our own Canadian boys, I can say the same in regard to boys from other countries, because they were given the privilege of seeing all those things, having been taken around by Lords and Dukes and big men of England who are behind Baden-Powell in this great movement, so that those boys will go home with the same impressions as our own boys. The foreign boys were given every attention, with interpreters to explain everything. Those boys would return home with a higher respect for the British spirit, and with that feeling of safety that permeated the whole of Old England and Scotland.

This is what is being done throughout the world, and I am proud that the Dominion of Canada takes such an interest in the Boy Scout movement and that such men as Mr. Mitchell, on my right here, and my friend Mr. Lathorn and Mr. Arnoldi and others who are sitting around this table to-day, are so much interested in the movement. We have over 50,000 Boy Scouts spread throughout the whole Dominion of Canada, and we are organized in every part of the Dominion. If you have a boy in the movement you can afford to give a little money to the men who are giving their time, like Mr. Mitchell, to help the movement along, and when you are doing that you are doing one of the greatest things you could do for this great Dominion of Canada. (Loud applause.)

PRESIDENT EAYRS voiced the cordial thanks of the Club to the speaker.

BY-PRODUCTS OF EMPIRE

An Address by THE REV. G. STANLEY RUSSELL, M.A., Toronto.

14th November, 1929

President Eayrs introduced the speaker, who was warmly welcomed and said:—Mr. President, my Lord Bishop, and Gentlemen, I count it a very great pleasure and a very great honour to be invited to speak to members of this distinguished Club. I want to speak to you, if I may, for a little while upon what I am going to call the By-Products of Empire.

As we look back down the long corridors of history we can see in those empires which lie buried in the abyss of time the machinery of their life adapting itself to particular purposes which are well within the minds of those who were driving that machinery, and as the wheels turn and carry out the policies and programmes of those people we can see that very frequently things emerge very much removed from what they intended, sometimes the very opposite of what they intended, which yet were things of greater moment to the world than anything which they actually had in their outlook and vision.

In that great Empire of Babylon many years ago they had a number of policies of various kinds, and in that fifth century before Christ, perhaps the most interesting period of the ancient world in many respects, when Socrates was teaching in Greece and Confucius and Lao-Tse in China, and Buddha himself in India, and the Jews were in the very heart of that great city by the Euphrates in slavery, the greatest thing that was done, though little did Babylon imagine it, was to have the presence of those slaves in their midst in contact with all this rich thought and civilization which was springing up in at least three different corners of the world.

Babylon did not know it, or realise it, yet the thing which we remember to-day, the thing which lives while all her great walls and temples are buried, and can only be discerned in their outline from the air—the thing which lives in their life and will always live in the life of the world is something which was a mere by-product of Christianity evolved amid all that mammoth civilization of days gone by.

The same might be said of the conquests of Alexander, called the Great—unfortunately in those days they always called men great who felt it their business to conquer the rest of the world. Our ideas of greatness, thank God, have changed a great deal since then. (Hear, hear.) Alexander first crossed Greece and then Asia Minor and came to the borders of India, but some very great things, as he imagined, and as the world eventually thought, immediately followed him. But perhaps the greatest thing that he did was to leave the impress of Greek art, Greek life, Greek thought, and even Greek physique among certain tribes of India. One of the greatest authorities on china and porcelain, the keeper of that department in the South Kensington Museum in London, told me that one of the most glorious results of the campaign of Alexander the Great is to be found in Chinese pottery, and certainly had its survival there under the influence of Alexander and the passage of his army.

Rome built her roads for a particular purpose, for the transport of her legions, and they exist all over Europe. I suppose you have all heard the story of the Englishman who came to Canada, one of those who asked foolish questions—(laughter)—and he wanted to know how it was that Canada had such dreadful roads. He said, "you know, if you go to England you will find the most delightful roads, even in our little villages we have the most charming roads; now, why is it that your roads in Canada are so abominable?" The Canadian to whom he was speaking looked at him and said very coolly, "well, I guess it is that we did not happen to enjoy the benefits of a Roman occupation." (Laughter.) Not only did Rome build her roads for that purpose, which served as means of wonderful communication in the days of early Christianity, but she instituted a service of bringing corn from Alexandria to the Eternal City, and it was by that very line of cornships that the Gospel was carried, and that Paul himself made his way to his imprisonment in Rome.

All those things just remind us that the great things that empires set out to do are often not so great as the things that they do on-the-by, as we say in Scotland; things that they do without suspecting it, without knowing it; things that they do quite frequently against all their vision and all their wit.

Well, in connection with that great Empire to which we belong this important truth still remains everlastingly true. The British Empire has set out to do a great many things in her time, and some of the greatest things that she has ever done, and some of the most wonderful forces that she has called into being have resulted not only without her realizing it but against her intention.

I sometimes think that amid the wonderful things that we achieved in the war, and all the marvelous heroism, and all the great purposes and ideals which animated the people of our race, a great many things were achieved and obtained which come very near to our hearts, which stand out in everlasting glory in our vision of the world at this time. I, for one, am exceedingly glad to feel that the old Holy Land of Palestine is being administered to-day by those of our race who care for things for which we care; and I am, if possible, more glad even than that, that there is a certain tomb on the top of a mountain in Samoa which has passed under the British flag, and that Robert Louis Stevenson has returned to the allegiance in which he was born. (Applause.)

Now, sir, we have with us to-day members of the Bar of the United States of America, and I sincerely hope that they will not think that I am being impertinent when I say that they represent the greatest by-product of the

British Empire. (Applause.) We certainly did not intend that—(laughter)—and in days gone by when we were taxing our American colonists, and were endeavouring to make those children who had left home contribute to the up-keep of the old farm-house we certainly did not envisage that there would arise to the south of us here a great nation with a great vision and great ideals, a nation which would go so far and achieve so much, a nation which would have such a wonderful spirit of liberty and progress, a nation which beginning as a rebellion against the British Crown, has now stiffened and broadened and grown into the greatest ally of the British people. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I suggested to Judge Sutherland a few minutes ago that we had repented a number of our early follies—(laughter)—and I am sure I speak for all here, and indeed for the whole British Empire, when I say that looking back on the course of that Empire there is no folly of which we repent more bitterly, and for which we desire more heartily to make amends than our treatment of the American colonies years ago. (Hear, hear.) Yet at the same time we have tried to make amends in a very small way. We have a statue of George Washington in Trafalgar Square. (Laughter). As I said to the Judge, it is only a small one, but it is there—(laughter)—and what matters more than that, we have a great statue of that rugged, that magnificent, that glorious man, Abraham Lincoln, sitting looking at the Westminster Abbey, and realizing to us all the time that the great American people and we are one. (Applause.)

I remember the very first time that I visited this side of the world, now 20 years ago, being taken by some relatives in Windsor not only across to the City of Detroit but up the River to an Island which I believe is called, colloquially, Vaulelin, and on that Island I remember being shown a little block house amongst the Indians, and being told that it was one of the homes of the earliest settlers who came into the virgin forest and the great prairies of the new world of liberty, and of power of expression and of self-possession which was impossible in the little island across the sea, and I am glad and proud to think that, towering on the one side is that great city of Detroit, flying the Stars and Stripes, and on the other side that Canadian town of Windsor, and down between them in the river on the Island there is that little block house; and I believe that on both sides they would say that out of that came the things which are deepest, things that are most real, most glorious and permanent in the civilization of both those nations which have come to possess this northern continent. (Applause.)

As we look across that river, and look to our friends on the other side, we have come to look upon them with different eyes from those that our great grandfathers turned that way, and we have come to realize that, as one of their poets has put it:

> They love their land because it is their own,
> And scorn to give aught other reason why;
> Would shake hands with a king upon his throne
> And think it kindness to His Majesty. (Laughter.)

Another great by-product of the British Empire which I am quite sure it did not intend is that of Canadian nationhood. I have been coming here for twenty years, and I have been a Canadian by marriage for sixteen, and have seen this Dominion grow. Twenty years ago it was in a condition of what to-day would be almost unbelievable crudity. I have seen it extemporizing where to-day it enjoys the great sweep of civilization, and I have watched it on my repeated visits develop gradually more and more consciousness which is distinctively its own, which is not British, which is not American, but which is Canadian—(hear, hear); and I always feel that that is one of the things—if I may venture to say so—that those who come from the other side of the ocean ought to realize; that this is not a country which is distinctively British, it is not a country which is distinctively American; it is a country with the genius and the outlook and the consciousness which are entirely its own. (Hear,

hear and applause.) And as that has developed, and Canadian citizenhood and Canadian citizenship have become more and more firmly realized, until the Governor General has become what he is indeed now literally, the Viceroy of this Country, the personal representative of the King, and Canada is no more managed from Downing Street than Downing Street is managed from Canada, if as much—(laughter)—and we have realized in this northern part of North America that we have a destiny of our own to fulfill, that we are, amongst other things, the Main Street between old Europe at the one hand and the lands of the East at the other, and more and more are likely to become one of the great highways of the world's court and life. As we have realized these things we have realized that we have a destiny of our own to fulfill, and not the least part of that destiny is that we should, just where we have been placed geographically, place ourselves more and more, holding out one hand to the Old Land over the sea, and the other hand to our neighbours across the border—(applause); and as we so live, and as we seek to unfold our own particular nationhood, we cannot fail to do the thing which is most needed in the world to-day, and that is, to draw the British Empire and the United States of America into closer understanding, into deeper affection and into more customary ardour for common action and common thought. (Applause.)

If there is anything which makes me, as a Britisher,—and I am a hundred per cent. British—feel that my countrymen are forgetting their true outlook on the world, the true well-being of the world, the greatest thing they can do for the world, is when I hear men of British birth and British patriotism belittle or deride or in any way detract from the greatness of the United States. (Hear, hear.) We do not exalt the British Empire by depreciating other people. (Applause.) We do not and never shall do anything in the world or anything great for the well-being of the world if we forget

Edmund Burke's great precept, that no man and no people should ever lend themselves to the indictment of a nation. I believe that that great Canadian who has now gone to his rest, and whose friendship I may without presumption claim to have enjoyed—I refer to Dr. J. A. MacDonald—did one of the great things that needs doing, and that we who succeed him should assume as part of our burden, when he said that the North American idea, the close union in thought and mind of this land in which we are and the land across the border, and the close union of both through us, with the land across the sea which we all love, was the greatest purpose that we could set before us, and the purpose that was most fraught with good for the future well-being of the world. (Hear, hear and applause.) You and I have heard him speak of that wonderful frontier which all Europe covets if it only knew how to get it; that wonderful frontier which runs a thousand miles up the St. Lawrence, a thousand miles through the Great Lakes, a thousand miles across the vast prairie, a thousand miles out to the Pacific Coast, and not a battleship, not a gun, not a fort, but two nations living in perfect amity and confidence, respecting each other and working with each other for the well-being and happiness of mankind. (Applause.)

I say, sir, that Europe covets that frontier, and it is for us to hold up to Europe on this side of the world that ideal, to make no compromise about it, to tell Europe quite plainly that that is the way in which she should walk, and to endeavour by every means in our power to induce her to walk therein. There will be one of the greatest by-products of the British Empire, the greatest thing that British Canada has ever brought forth, if only we British people can stand with our American cousins and insist on showing the world that that is the ideal of neighbourliness and life, and inducing them to follow in our steps. (Hear, hear and applause.)

There is another by-product of the British Empire which we in Canada and our friends in the United States have realized in an extreme fashion. As the wheels of English history turn round I think nobody has quite realized the extreme conglomeration of races which went to make up our nationality. I do not know exactly how you all stand here, but know that in myself I am a perfect league of nations personified. (Laughter.) All the invasions of that little island across the sea found an invader in my ancestry. Saxon and Norman and Dane are we, and a great many other things are we. I am only proud to say that I am a son of both, and Dr. Slacter says he has discovered that I am a Highlander, and I know that there was a French smuggler somewhere in our family history. I hope you will realize that the French smuggler is responsible for what I may ever say or do in Toronto. (Laughter.) There was a French smuggler that fell in love with a French girl, and as every man should, he made his wife's country his own. (Laughter.) Therefore, you see, we are an extraordinary conglomeration, and it may be because we are such a conglomeration that we have to such a large extent solved the interracial problem in the British Empire and the United States. The one by expansion and the other by absorption have drawn into themselves almost every race and nationality known to man, and as they have drawn them in they have either fitted them into their own bloodstream or else fitted them into their approprite and proper place in their national communal life. It seems to be that is a very great thing to have done. It is a very great thing that here in Canada we have people of French descent and sympathies living with us in harmony, perfect loyalty and perfect cooperation. (Applause.) It is a very great thing, if you read that play of Israel Zangwill's, which I once saw in London—"The Melting Pot"—to remark how people have come in from various nationalities into the United States and have gradually become a hundred per cent. American.

One of the pleasures I had in coming across in September last in the Duchess of Richmond was intercourse with one of the most remarkable men living, Dr. A. M.

Rabini, of the Church of the Disciples in Massachusetts. There is a man brought up under the conditions in which Jesus Himself was brought up, but you touch that man anywhere and it is an American who will answer you, and that is one of the great things that the United States has done, and that the British Empire has done; and it is one of the great things which must be done over the world. We cannot ignore this inter-racial problem. We cannot blink it, and turn our eyes from it, for it is one of the things we have tried to do. In South America they have faced it, and I had a man from the Argentine tell me how they had faced it, and what the result had been; and we are not going to solve that problem by simply turning our backs to it, or simply by saying, "Well, of course, really, it is no affair of ours." It is an affair of ours, and now that the world is contracting as it grows older, and now that the whole of the race of mankind is living all on one street, it is impossible for us to ignore it any longer. When you have black man and white man, and red man and yellow man, you have got somehow or other to find their *modus vivendi*; and if that way is to be found and that problem is to be solved it will be solved by the British and the American people, who have been dealing with it for so many years, and who have by their dealing with it shown their capacity for finding a way through. (Applause.)

I cannot sit down without saying a word about two other matters. One of the great by-products of the British Empire, one of the things which we certainly did not envisage when that empire started forth on its way, was the marvelous manner in which not only every Dominion and colony but every race and religion under the Union Jack rallied to the Old Land in the hour of her peril—(applause)—; the way in which they came—red Indian, Mahommedan, Buddhist, every conceivable race and religion from the ends of the earth, very often not only at their own expense but accompanied by generous contributions to that little land across the ocean which in the hour of her danger did not call on her children in vain (hear, hear); and I venture to believe—and if I am going to be a very good Canadian I should believe—that in her difficulties in time of peace, in face of the burden which she is bearing, in the problems, many and grave, that she is trying to solve, in the path which is rough and stony, that she is trying to tread with head erect and shoulders square, that in time of peace Great Britain will find from her Dominions and Colonies and Dependencies not a less mighty love than she found in the time of war. (Applause.)

I am glad and proud to realize that the arrival of Canadian nationhood coincides with, and I believe causes, closer understanding and deeper sympathy between this Dominion and Great Britain than has ever existed within the twenty years that I have known Canada. I do not think that the Old Country and this land were ever so close together as they are to-day—(applause)—and by that strange paradox and contradiction which is part of our British policy, or at least part of our British nation, paradoxical as it may seen, on paper they were never so far away. I believe, also, that as these three friends—Old England and Great Britain and this new nation of Canada and the great United States—as they stand together and work out their destinies together will havc an influence which will be felt in the direction of bringing together, bringing into being that new world in which war shall be a hateful memory, and in which the works and blessings of peace shall be as a commonplace of everyday life. (Applause.)

We have had very recently a visit to this Dominion of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and we have had his conversations with President Hoover—conversations which I believe are not primarily the outcome of a carefully studied diplomacy on either sire, but rather the outcome of an understanding of people who know and understand each other, in order to lead the world to better ways of thinking and living; and I saw the other day, with immense delight, that the Prime Minister of Canada had expressed the hope, which I sincerely trust will be justified, that in every school and in every church throughout this Dominion there will be hung in a common place for the eye of every pupil and every worshipper to see it, the text of the League Pact. (Hear, hear and applause.) Gentlemen, if Canada can set that example to the British Empire and to all the English-speaking people, and especially if Canada can set up in the churches and schools of a British Dominion that great thing that has been given to the world through an American Statesman, one of the biggest things that could possibly be achieved has been achieved before our eyes and in our generation. (Hear, hear.)

I think, sir, that there are many other by-products of the British Empire to which I could refer, but time turns its wheels with relentless force, and I can only say that I sincerely trust we shall preserve that clear outlook, that friendly demeanour, that tolerant spirit which alone marks great men and great nations. I think that one of the most magnificent things about the British people is their tolerance. If you went through the streets of London as I have done, and saw a procession of 250 communists marching through the city, who had just been released from jail for some offence against the law, not of a political character, I believe, followed by several thousand sympathisers; if you had seen them carrying banners with legends—"A Republic for England" and "Down with this", or "Down with that", and if you had seen the stolid London bobby walking alongside to see that no one molested them—(laughter)—you would have realized where the real strength of the British people lies. (Applause.) Over and over again in London we have seen that. During the fourteen years that I lived there we had all kinds of disturbances, and always there was a good-humoured tolerance about it, and, believe me, it is their outlook on the world, it is their outlook on our own nation and the various people who compose it; it is that outlook of different sections of the Christian church, whether they be Catholic or Protestant, Presbyterian, or Unitarian, it is their outlook on man, with a big human and loving heart behind it—it is that which, under God, is going to save the world and lead us into peace, and to give us here in this Canada which we all love, and which we are all going to serve, a land of settled government, a land of just and fair renown, where freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent. (Great applause.)

Hon. Mr. Justice Raney expressed the thanks of the Club to Mr. Russell.

CANADA'S NEW NORTHWEST DEVELOPMENT

AN ADDRESS BY JOHN W. DAFOE, WINNIPEG, MAN.

21st November, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker, who said: I am very happy to be with you to-day, to try and talk about the new factors in Canadian national development, the factors of transportation. All history has shown that nothing affects the course of history more than discoveries in transportation, new routes or new mediums, which create ties of business that make and unmake countries and citizens. Historical applications of that principle will occur to you all. For instance, the glories of Genoa and Venice passed away when they found an easy way to Cathay, giving to the northern ports of Europe that primacy which they have still maintained. And we are still trying to readjust ourselves to the transferring power of the Panama Canal, which has changed the geographical relationship of the whole of North America, and not only that, but the other parts of the continent, to the world. We in Winnipeg can speak feelingly upon that subject. I do not suppose there was anybody in Winnipeg who sensed in the least what the opening of the Panama Canal would do. We had an academic interest in it in relation to the shipment of wheat, but we did not realize that the practical effect of the opening of that canal was to put Vancouver nearer to Europe in respect of freight, and in some respects nearer to the Atlantic seaboard, than Winnipeg was. The great strip of territory of which we were the entrepot, and in which I suppose we felt we had a vested right, was suddenly cut through the middle, the western half of it becoming subject to Vancouver, envolving us in a long period of readjustment.

Now, if the economic doctrine that governs the Canadian thinking had been sound, that there is only so much business, and if you lose it you lose it forever, the injury to Winnipeg would have been almost mortal. But perhaps under the philosophy of necessity we realized that if those portions of the west which we lost were to be benefitted, as they were, by being placed in a more advantageous relation to the world, we would in the long run indirectly profit from that fact; and that is something which all the provinces of Cauada need to bear in mind in this far-flung country, because there will continually be readjustments going on which will affect the current of trade and which will disrupt what some people regard as vested business rights.

It is upon development of that kind that I would like to speak to you, because the relationship of western Canada, by which I mean the prairie country plus the northern part of it, the wilderness, to the rest of Canada and to the world, is being profoundly modified by new developments in transportation which are not only in prospect but in some respects already in operation.

The traders and sailors of Great Britain have always thoroughly understood the great advantage in transportation rates of what the mariner called the Great Circle, that is, the farther north that you can sail the greater the saving in distance and the greater the cheapening in freights. With the idea of utilizing the Great Circle, Great Britain was set on discovering the North-West Passage. That was a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific which would give the merchants and sailors of Great Britain an avenue of approach to the Orient that was far shorter, cheaper and more effective than the longer sea-route which had to take account of the rotundity of the globe. For 200 years the search for that North-West Passage governed British activities in that part of Canada which is now Western Canada.

The Hudson Bay Company did not come into existence simply to collect furs. Embodied in its engagement with the British Government was the obligation to locate, if possible, the North-West Passage; and from first to last they spent an enormous amount of money in trying to find it, and you know something of the risks and hazards of their efforts to solve that knotty problem. Well, that problem has been actually solved, although it is not in itself a factor of any moment; that is to say, ships can navigate the North-West Passage to-day. It has been navigated twice; once, twenty years ago by Amundsen, and once last year by a little ship of the Hudson Bay Company which, passing through Davis Straits, Baffin's Bay, and Lancaster Sound, found its way from the Atlantic to the Western Arctic, and turning south came to harbour in the Bay of King William Land, which is an island off the north coast. Now, King William Land was the scene of the tragedy of Sir John Franklin, whose ships sailed into the north and were lost, and a generation passed before anything was found of their fate. Then it was found that they had reached King William Land, and there had perished miserably one by one. This Hudson Bay ship, which carried a radio, tied up at the Bay, and it was from there that news was flashed of the discovery of the MacAlpine party. That tells its own story of how men are conquering the fortresses of the north.

As indicating the opening of the new transportation to the North, I have here a document which I think will have a most important place in the trade history of Canada. It is not very imposing. It is a freight bill for $25.84, and it represents the freight on three bales of blankets which were shipped by the Hudson Bay Company last September from Churchill to Winnipeg. These blankets came out in the Hudson Bay ship, the Ungava, to Churchill, and the road being completed to Churchill they were shipped over the railway to Winnipeg and were put in the Hudson Bay stores. To each was attached a tag showing it was the first shipment from Great Britain to Winnipeg, and those blankets passed into the possession of various people in Winnipeg and are kept as souvenirs. The ship Ungava on its return carried 1,000 bushels of western grain, which they deposited at Ardrossan, two highly significant transactions, although small in themselves, because that was the first movement of this shuttle in that northern route which is going to build up an immense web of commerce binding Western Canada and Great Britain more closely together.

I shall try to give you some idea of what I conceive to be the possibilities of that route. In the old days when we were discussing and fighting about whether the Hudson Bay road should be built or not, one of the arguments which I met with everywhere was that you could not ship wheat out by that route because you could not store it over winter at Fort Churchill or Fort Nelson and get it out of the play of commercial forces. I never found it possible to make people realize that wheat would go out the season it was harvested. Now, let us remember what might have happened this year if the route had been formally opened and in operation. Of course the road was there, but it has not been operated yet, and the harbour will not be completed until 1931. At the middle of September this year there were 100,000,000 bushels of wheat ready for market in Western Canada. The crop came in early, and it was threshed early and marketed early; and that is a condition which will continue to exist every year now, because year after year we are using to a larger degree the "Combine", which threshes as it cuts. So by the 15th of September we had placed in a strategic position in Western Canada 100,000,000 bushels of wheat which was nearer to Fort Churchill than to Fort William, and it could reach Churchill sooner. When it was at Churchill it was as near Liverpool as it would have been if it was at Montreal. That is to say, it cut out the whole trip by lake and canal from Fort William to Montreal. You cut out the time and cut out the cost.

Canada is now considering the probability and practicability of deepening that waterway, and it is argued, very justly as I think, that if you deepen the waterway you will cut out half or two-thirds of the cost. But the northern route cuts it all out; and assuming—and there is no reason why the assumption is not well based—that while the season is open the freight rate from Fort Churchill will be substantially what it is from Montreal, it is perfectly obvious that from the time the wheat begins to go into the elevator until the last possible date in which ships can operate out of Fort Churchill, there will be a concentrated pressure to put wheat through that funnel. Why? Because there will be the saving of time and the saving of expense, and it will have the primary call on the handling of wheat not only as against Montreal but as against Vancouver.

As a result of political pressure applied by the West, the Government decided that they would have to build the Hudson Bay road, as you give a toy to a crying child. One of the Ministers said to me, "Well, we have got to build the road, there is no alternative. No doubt that the route is all right, but I am very much afraid that it will be a long, tedious business educating the people to the possibilities of the route." I do not think the Government have any apprehensions whatever on that point now, because the Dominion Government and the Manitoba Government are kept very busy in keeping the people out of Churchill. (Laughter.) They are absolutely deluged with demands for all kinds of opportunities to open up business there. Wharf accommodation, yardage accommodation, all kinds of business, including some of a very significant character, which suggests that Churchill will be a great assembling point for business on a large scale.

Well, there are other things that will go out by the Bay. Scattered through that country, as you know, there are great mining prospects for base metal. Now, those mines which are being developed now are developed on the basis of a freight rate to the sea by Montreal. If over a considerable portion of the year their product can come out through Hudson Bay, which is next door, just 200 or 300 miles away, not only will it add enormously to the profits of those particular mines, but it will make possible the development of other mines. We have, for the moment, entirely lost our cattle trade with Great Britain.

We may find it necessary to recover it. Our cattle from Western Canada have been going to the United States, but they may be shut out from that country, and the probabilities are that they will; but through the coming northern route, saving about 1,200 miles as against Montreal, it will make possible the re-entry for one of our primary agricultural industries into the markets of Great Britain.

A gentleman who has been making a study of the possibilities of that route for the Government told me there was no question of ample outward business for the route. But what about business coming in? Well, I would hazard the statement that there is nothing that is imported into Western Canada from England or from the continent of Europe which will not come in by that route to its carrying capacity during the season. I was in Alberta a month or so ago, and I was quite interested to find that the miners there were very much disturbed over the opening of the Hudson Bay route. They asked, "what will become of the coal from the Alberta mines?" It has been shown that with the freight rate, which is about twice what it is from Welsh coal mines to Montreal, the Welsh coal will take possession of that country over 500 miles from the Bay; and if the freight rates are identical with those from Montreal, which I think they will be, Welsh coal will be a factor all over Western Canada, and I have no doubt that Welsh anthracite will run Pennsylvania anthracite out of the market in Winnipeg.

There you have the beginning of an enormous prospective English trade of which, theoretically at least, we are all in favour, and in its development really leading inevitably to the opening up of further routes of transportation. This may be a long shot, but I am willing now to go on record that one of the early consequences of the establishment of the practicability and economic utility of the Hudson Bay route will be the building of a line due west from Churchill to a port on the Pacific. At one time it would have been recorded as going through the wilderness. For the first 400 or 500 miles that road would run through a country that is all being combed for mining possibilities, and in which there are a large number of prospects of first-class mines. Then you come into the waterway district containing tar sand, in which, once they find a means of extracting it, there will be one of the great oil reservoirs of the world. Then in a hundred miles or so you get into the Peace River country, of which I suppose you gentlemen have been hearing a good deal.

The agricultural area in that country begins where it leaves off in Manitoba and Saskatchewan; that is, it is further north. It starts at latitude 50 and goes on almost indefinitely to the Arctic Circle, owing to the fact which people have been so slow to realize that the further north you go the longer the summer day. The most moderate estimate of land in that area is 47 million acres, which is the Dominion Government estimate, and the real estate boosters think that it contains 100 million acres. But even if it is only 47 million acres, that represents twice the acreage that is given up to wheat in Western Canada. There you have an immense Empire—the Last West—bound to be developed in the next fifteen or twenty years, and quite likely to duplicate in production the whole area of Western Canada to-day. The western States, Vancouver and Prince Rupert, are looking to Peace River for their future greatness. The Peace River will be much nearer to Great Britain by Liverpool than it will by the West.

These transportation routes are subject to one further serious limitation, that they can only be used part of the year; they freeze up. But transportation is now taken through a medium that never freezes up; it has taken to the air, and when you get in the air this principle of the Great Circle limiting distance becomes a hundred per cent. operative, and the transportation routes by air, passenger and freight, because freight follows passenger as is being established in Europe, will proceed by the northern routes. The major air route of the world will follow the Great Circle; it will come from Europe by way of

Great Britain, the Faroe Islands, to Iceland, to Greenland, to the western shores of Hudson Bay, to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, to Nome, over the Behring Straits, and into Asia. All the major air routes on the North American continent, whether directed towards Asia or to Europe, will hitch on to that northern route, and somewhere in the northern part of western Canada, possibly Churchill, or possbily further north, Chesterfield, there will be the greatest air port in the northern hemisphere. There will come in to that port the air-lines from the Atlantic seaboard to the Orient, which will go north of that city over James Bay and hitch on to the route around the world. The air-lines from western Canada and from the western States will go up in the neighborhood of Winnipeg and join wherever this junction is which will probably be about Churchill.

Two months ago I was talking to some Winnipeg business men on this subject, and I said to them, "The time is not far distant when some of you gentlemen will leave Winnipeg on Monday morning and dine in London on Tuesday evening." Well, I was kidding a bit about that Some of my friends thought that I made that statement by virtue of my editorial license, which will permit a slight exaggeration of the truth. (Laughter.) Naturally I was very much interested to see that Mr. King, when he came west, made a reference which bore me out. The press report says that the speaker called attention to the new routes which were being opened up and said that only a night or two previously he was discussing seriously at Ottawa the possibility of some assistance being given to the great undertaking of linking up the British Islands with the prairies through some means of aerial navigation which would bring London and Winnipeg and Saskatoon together. There were those who were dealing with practical aviation who thought that it was only a matter of a short time before it would be possible to take one's breakfast on the morning of Thursday in Winnipeg and dine in London on the evening of Friday. (Laughter.) I have the first claim on that particular prophecy. I do not know whether Mr. King stole it from me or not, but it is quite within the range not only of possibilities but of practicability, and of immediate practicability.

We had in Winnipeg within the last two weeks a gentleman, an engineer from Chicago, I do not know what his backing is, in the interest of an aviation proposition planning to lay out a route from Chicago to Winnipeg, from Winnipeg to Churchill, and from Churchill to Great Britain. Now, to a person familiar with distances from a flat wall map, what I have been saying to you would seem to be the most absolute nonsense, for why should people go north, and along that way and down that way in order to get between two points? Why not go straight?

Well, of course, you are misled by the Mercator projection, which is an absolute distortion of distance. If you look at a map of the northern part of the world with the Pole in the center and the continents grouped around it, or if you take a globe and look at it, you will find that those routes that I have been marking out do not even curve; they are routes as a swallow flies, straight; and in addition to having the quality of directness and efficiency they have another great advantage, that Providence, no doubt with a view to these aviation routes, carefully distributed land at intervals over the whole distance. At no place is there a jump of more than 300 miles on sea; which means that aeroplanes, in place of loading up with gas, can give that space to freight, and can replenish. You can see that from the map yourself, that the direction from Asia gives you a very narrow turn to Nome; then you can cross northern Canada to Hudson Bay; then you have Baffin's Land; then you have Greenland, then Iceland, then Faroe Islands, then Scotland, a completely direct run .

Now, when these routes are open, the Hudson Bay route, which is a land-and-water route, and which will be in operation next year, partly, and in full blast the year after; and when you have subsidiary railways which will inevitably follow the opening up of the route, a direct line to Winnipeg in order to reach the Western States; when you have a line west connecting with the railway system which is already in that Peace River country; when you have these aviation routes all north of the present belt of settlement, so that all the routes will go north to join them, western Canada will not be the hinterland of the Pacific Ocean, and it will not be the hinterland of the Atlantic Ocean, but it will be right athwart a dozen avenues of transportation of the world, and instead of being away at the back of the theatre it will be right up in front.

I think it possible, of course, that some people in the East may say, "well, where do wo get off? What is going to happen us?" You think about the West as we people in Winnipeg thought about Alberta, that we had a God-given right to supply the people of Alberta with their goods, and suddenly they turned and brought them in from Vancouver. Well, I think you have got to a state that indirectly the benefit to yourselves will be not less than that which you have now, and directly the benefit to Canada in the development of that great country will be beyond calculation.

Canada is a federation of great sections, and our national greatness must depend upon each section developing in the way which best serves its advantage; and if I am not too optimistic, if what I think is true, if western Canada in place of being a narrow settlement along a national boundary is to be a country 800 miles wide and 800 miles north, full of enterprise, pulsing with life, and opening up a district through Canadian capital, providing homes for Canadian people, the east is not going to suffer from that fact. (Hear, hear.) I do not think anybody east who has any vision or imagination would think so for a moment.

I am one of the venerable, not as far advanced yet, I suppose, as my friend Dr. Goggin, whose 80th birthday next Monday has been announced, but I think the outlook for the younger men, many of whom are here, and the mental attitude of Canadians, can see a prospect different from that with which I was familiar as a young man. We felt that we had a narrow strip of possible settlement along the American boundary, and we were consumed with anxiety lest it would be broken into sections and sucked into the United States so that we could not do business with them, or we would be halted by our apprehensions. Well, Canada is not a narrow strip along the United States any more. The phrase has been used by some American writer that we are "cracking open the north", and having cracked it open we find it not a wilderness, but almost a treasure-house of the world in respect of minerals and of agricultural development as well. So we are going to have on the North American Continent a country comparable to the United States in its own way, not only in length but in depth; and with that conception and with the development which will go on, we will forget these megrims and these fears that we are not competent to maintain our existence in the face of any influence which may be brought to bear upon us, and that we will go forward with the assurance of our greatness and the greatness of our future.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as you all know, said that the twentieth century was Canada's century. I suppose some thought that the old boy was out again, that it was a fine phrase, but that they need not take it seriously. But there spoke the man of reason and the man of imagination. What we want in Canada more than anything is vision and imagination, and courage; given those, and I think we have them, I do not think we will need to go much further into this century to realize that Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke the absolute truth when he said that while the ninetetnth century was the United States', the twentieth century was Canada's. (Loud applause.)

The President thanked the speaker, in the name of the Club.

SOME DISRUPTIVE INFLUENCES IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR W. T. WAUGH, M.A., B.D.

28th November, 1929

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker, who said: When I was talking to you three years ago my subject was General Wolfe, and I took advantage of that to draw from the history of General Wolfe's own day some warnings which I thought necessary concerning the position and prospects of the Empire. I reminded you that when the British conquered Canada there seemed no cloud whatever in the future of the Empire, its greatest danger being that arising from the French in North America having been overcome, and everybody broke forth into enthusiastic thanks to God, and into the most optimistic prophecies about the glorious future. Yet within a very few years Quebec, which had been taken through the instrumentality of Wolfe, was being again besieged, this time by rebellious British subjects, and it was being defended against them with the sympathy, passive, but it may be to some extent active, of the conquered French Canadians.

That transformation needed only sixteen years; and three years ago I said that it behooved us to be very careful lest we should become unduly optimistic about the prospects of the Empire of our own time, regarding which a good deal of rather reckless talk was just then going on because a week or two before the famous report of the Imperial Conference about Dominion status had been published, and people were calling it the Magna Charta, and I know not what besides. Now, in the three years that have elapsed since then, I think you will all agree there has not been any very appreciable change for the better in the relations between the component parts of the British Commonwealth. I do not think anyone would say that the ties uniting that Commonwealth had become any stronger in that time. One has only to look at the political history of such countries as Australia, or South Africa, or Britain itself, to see that whatever direction development may have taken, still they cannot be said to have made the British Commonwealth any stronger than it was three years ago.

I want to-day to talk very briefly about some of the dangers, some of the disruptive influences which it seems to me are affecting the Commonwealth. A mood of passive optimism is of all moods the most dangerous. You must not infer from what I am going to say that I am in any way hostile to the Empire, but I view with some concern the superficial, confident talk that is going on now. We have had a lot of it in this country in the last two or three years. We have had visits from a number of British statesmen, Mr. Avery, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, to mention only the more conspicuous, and on the occasion of every visit there have been great speeches extolling the Empire and pressing the harmony and unity that pervades it.

Now, it seems to me that the people who talk in that excessively optimistic way are overlooking some very important facts, facts that must be taken into account if we are to do the best we can for the preservation and promotion of the Empire. I want to mention one or two of these. I am not going to speak of certain very conspicuous disruptive influences that are always being referred to in the newspapers; there is no need to dwell upon them. For instance, I am not going to say anything about the attitude of the Whites in South Africa towards the natives, or the attitude of the Australians towards the immigration of colored peoples. They give rise to very difficult problems which certainly do not make for harmony and co-operation within the Empire, but they are very familiar to all of you, and they have been and still are being amply discussed in the press. I am not going to talk, either, about certain people who are frankly hostile to the Commonwealth, like many of the natives of India or a good many of the Irish. Nor shall I dwell upon certain races in the Commonwealth, that is, the Dutch in South Africa and the French here who, though they are not actively hostile or critical, or still less rebellious, they still cannot be expected to care very much for the British connection.

I want first of all to deal with certain disruptive influences that were caused by Great Britain. We are very often liable to forget that a rope joining two things together may be cut from either end; and I fancy the people in this country are too ready to assume that the British are eager to maintain the Commonwealth at all costs, that they are willing to make almost any concession in order to prevent the secession of the Dominions. Now, the course of history in Great Britain does not support such a view at all. The British temper is not naturally imperialistic, and the attitude of the British people toward the colonies or dominions, as a rule, has been one of a friendly indifference at best, and an impatient indifference at worst.

It is rather difficult for most of us to realize this fact, because during a period of 20 years there was a good deal of imperialistic fervour in Great Britain, and during those 20 years I fancy most of us were growing up and having our ideas formed. It is hard to understand that before that period started somewhere about 1885 most Englishmen, Conservative as well as Liberals, took it for granted that the Colonies would presently fall away, and that the utmost that British policy could hope to achieve was that there would be an amicable parting. It was Disraeli, and not any member of the Manchester School, not any Little Englander, who first referred to those Colonies as a millstone about our necks; and although his views about the Colonies did change later on, still it is very significant that a man with his great outlook should ever have said anything like that.

Now, this imperialistic fervour boiled pretty high for a time. It rose to its climax, I suppose, in the year 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. It was still pretty hot a couple of years later when the South African war broke out, but then it cooled rapidly, as Joseph Chamberlain found to his cost. In the year 1902 Chamberlain came forward with his famous proposals of tariff reform. He was in favour of introducing protective duties in the interests of British manufautcure, and he was also in favour of Imperial reciprocity, thinking that a system of preferential tariff within the Empire would help to bind its component parts more closely together. Well, as we all know, Joseph Chamberlain's program did not appeal to the British electors. It was hopelessly defeated at the general election of 1906. But from our point of view the significant thing about that election was that the Imperial issue played hardly any part. The electorate was not interested in the Imperial aspect of Chamberlain's proposal; all it cared about was the effect in England of the imposition of a tariff; would the workman's food cost him more? That was the question that was in the forefront of everybody's mind; that was the question on which the election was fought.

With the election of 1906 British enthusiasm about the Empire came to an end. The next few years, it is true, there was a good deal of talk about Imperial Federation. It came mainly from New Zealand and Australia, but if you follow the proceedings of the Imperial Conference during those years you will find that any proposals for uniting the Empire more closely by political bonds had cold water thrown upon them, first by the British Government, and secondly by the representatives of Canada.

Since the War Imperialistic enthusiasm in Great Britain has been very low. There is no desire whatever for expanding British territories, and interest in the Commonwealth frankly is not very fervent. I do not know whether you realize that there has never been a general election in Great Britain in which an issue affecting the

Empire has decided the result; and at the present time, though Conservatives are beginning to talk about the promotion of Imperial trade, and suggest that that may be made a plank in their platform at the next election, still the party managers know well enough that that will not be a vote-catching card, because everybody will at once say, "If you are to do anything in this direction you will have to tax the people's food, and that the electorate will not stand."

You might say that while the Empire people do not, as a rule, feel enthusiastic about the Empire they have still a cool and considered regard for its values. Their interest may not be emotional, but at any rate it is intelligent. Well, I very much doubt whether there is much interest at all, cool or enthusiastic. What strikes me most when I talk to English people about the Overseas Dominions is their utter ignorance. Of course I encounter it most in relation to Canada, because Canada is the usual subject of our conversation, but one meets it in relation to other Dominions. My wife not long ago was talking to a lady in England who would be called, I suppose, an educated lady, and she knew that one of this lady's sons was somewhere abroad, and she asked the lady where he was, and the lady said, "Oh, he is in British Colombo." My wife looked rather astonished at this, and the lady hastened to add, "Yes, in British Colombo, in New Zealand, you know." (Laughter.) I fancy that the British know less about Canada than about any other Dominion, although it lies nearest. One gets some astonishing revelations. I remember when I was coming out here eight years ago, an educated lady, whom I knew very well, said she hoped I would not find the heat too trying; and not long ago I got a letter addressed to me, "McGill University, McGill, Ontario. (Laughter.) The point of that story is that it came to me from an organization in England that existed to show hospitality and entertainment to young men, particularly University students, from the British Dominions overseas. (Laughter.) A colleague of mine the other day got a letter from his Oxford College addressed to "McGill University, U.S.A." (Laughter.) A student of mine who wants to enter one of the women's colleges in Oxford applied for admission, and a week or two ago she got a letter back saying that her application would be considered favourably, but it was not quite in order; it would have to be made through Washington." (Laughter.) She had written from Montreal stating that she was an undergraduate of McGill.

Now, those letters did not come from ignorant and uneducated people, at least not from people who are supposed to be ignorant; they came from highly educated persons, members of one of the ancient universities, at any rate. Then of course it is an exceedingly common thing in England to find that the distinction between United States and Canada is wholly ignored. When I am over there my friends persisted in speaking of me as if I were living in the United States, although they know well enough that I reside in Montreal. Two or three years ago I heard the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Baldwin, addressing the Anglo-American Historical Conference, and on the platform were several Canadians including myself, and in the audience a good many more; and he spoke for I suppose half an hour, and in the whole of that time he never betrayed any knowledge that the North American continent contained any but citizens of the United States. In fact, a good deal of his speech was based on the assumption that our continent was entirely populated by citizens of the United States; and I am happy to say that a gentleman, probably well known to most of you, Professor G. M. Wrong, who was on the platform, got up when seconding the vote of thanks and hit him stoutly over the head. (Laughter.) Then of course you will see some ignorant indifference in a good many English visitors whom we get here, particularly those who just run over the border for a little while in the middle of a lecturing tour in the United States. They clearly regard Canada as a kind of unimportant appendix to the American Republic. I have seen that over and over again. They come here unprepared for what they will find; they are careless of what they say, of what they see, and they think they can give us second-rate stuff. That is not true of all of them, but it is true of a great many, and I am afraid it is very significant of the British attitude towards the Dominions.

There is another danger, I think, from the side of England, and that is that they are not keen about the Empire, nor are they very much interested in it, and they know precious little about it. One day they are going to ask themselves, "what is the good of maintaining it?" and some people are asking themselves that already; they are asking, "are those Dominions that we are building up from time to time a liability or an asset? ? What about Imperial defence? If we get into a war can we count upon Dominion aid?" Well, of course they know that they can certainly reckon upon that. They might have known that for long enough, but it was brought home to the British people much more forcibly than ever before over the Charnak incident in 1922, and that made a very profound impression on British opinion, let me tell you. Then they observe that the Dominions now appoint their diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, and they are asking themselves, "now that the Dominions may create their own international disputes, why should we be expected to pay the bill for them? Why should we keep up a large navy, partly for the purpose of protecting those Dominions?" Some of the Dominions try to provide for their own defence, but none of them provide as heavily per head as the British taxpayer does, and they do something that is not contemptible; but there are other Dominions of which that cannot be said. Supposing this Dominion let us say, gets into a quarrel with the United States over a rum-running ship, a thing quite conceivable, and it came to a war, which is also conceivable, we must not blind our eyes to it, the British people might well ask, "why should we risk our navy? Why should we risk the lives of our men in a quarrel which has nothing to do with us?" And that is a question that is going to be asked more and more insistently in the near future.

I was lately reading a review of the relations between the different Dominions since the War. It was published by the Institute of International Affairs, and what struck me was that it was idle to talk about equality among the component parts of the British Empire, because there was no equality at all; Great Britain was in the position of rank inferiority; she bore the major part of the burden, and she has made concession after concession, and yielded point after point to the overseas Dominions. When I read that review I asked myself, how long will Britain stand it? And I do believe that if I still lived in Britain and looked at things from a purely national standpoint which is the easiest standpoint to assume, I should say, let Britain secede from the British Commonwealth. (Laughter.) And this is the thing I can only touch upon—what about the United States of Europe? It is only an idea as yet, but I believe it is an idea of which a great deal more is to be heard very soon, and if it takes practical form what is Great Britain going to do about it? That is a very grave question for those who have the maintenance and unity of the Commonwealth at heart.

Now, I just want to briefly allude to one or two disruptive influences in the Dominions themselves. We may well ask ourselves whether there is any real enthusiasm over the Commonwealth in the Dominions outside of New Zealand and Newfoundland. There is some here and there, and how much? Australia adheres to the Commonwealth because it is to her interest to do so. South Africa, because she thinks that she is practically independent already, and formal secession from the Commonwealth would give rise to considerable domestic dispute. Then we came to Canada. Well, I wonder is there any real enthusiasm for the Empire outside of Ontario, which I agree does exist, and a certain part of British Columbia? I do not know, but I have been all over Canada from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island, and all

I met or saw was very little enthusiasm, and I may say I was travelling, for a considerable part of my wanderings, under the auspices of an organization that exists to promote good imperial relations. The response that I detected was extremely disappointing.

Now, one reason why the Empire does not pull together quite as well as apart is that in many parts of it the English are strongly disliked. They are notoriously unpopular in Australia, and in Canada—well, when I have been travelling about I have had some queer things said to me. (Laughter.) There was a man in Saskatchewen, who was an exalted official in one of our great railways, I will not specify which, who within two minutes of being introduced to me said, "You know, we don't want Englishmen out here; what we like are Galicians and Lithuanians, and people like that (Laughter.) And I had other things said to me, not quite so sensational, but nearly so; and I asked myself when people say that sort of thing to my face what are they saying about Englishmen behind my back (Laughter.)

I notice, too, among my own students of McGill a very pronounced anti-British feeling just now. I do not know whether you can trace the same thing at the university here, but it is certainly present with us. I have remarked it on many recent occasions and in many different connections. This attitude, I may venture to suggest, i very largely due to ignorance of England; and ignoranc of England in Canada is very nearly as bad as th ignorance of Canada in England. (Hear, hear.) I wish that the visitors who go from Canada to England in such large numbers every Summer would arrange thei itinerary a little more intelligently. Now, I have n doubt that when you gentlemen go across you behave i an eminently wise and reasonable way, but you know that a great many people do this kind of thing—they pu themselves in the hands of a tourist agency, and the land in Liverpool, then they are taken to Chester, an they go to Stratford-on-Avon, then a great many go t

Leamington, I never could understand why (laughter), then they go to Oxford, of course, and then they go to London, and around the west end a little bit, then they go off to the continent, and they think they have seen England, and they think they have seen the English people. They get an idea that England is very quaint, very charming, very old-fashioned, very easy-gowing, quite delightful. (Laughter.) Well, I can tell you that to nine Englishmen out of ten Chester seems a very strange place, and Oxford seems absolutely comical, and the average places seem to the average Englishman grotesque. I think it seems very comical to the average Englishman who visits Oxford, but the average Canadian has been taught to accept them, and the average Englishman has not. (Luaghter.)

You see that I am taking a very one-sided view of hings, because I do not pretend to be speaking judicially. I am simply representing one side of the case. The one great remedy, I think, for the mutual dislike that afflicts so many parts of the British Empire is a greater effort o bring the two peoples together through intelligent ravel. If we could get more Englishmen out here who eally saw the country and were not just taken about, being shown the things that their hosts think they ought to ee, and if the Canadians who go to England would visit my native county—(laughter), they would not enjoy it very much; it is not beautiful, it is not attractive, but it s exceedingly important, for what Manchester thinks o-day England thinks the next day. (Laughter.) And Yorkshire, this reminds me of another point; you know what the English accent is; I don't. (Laughter.) But ne reason why Canadians dislike Englishmen is that they re supposed to speak with an English accent, as far as can make out. English accent is the kind of way in which certain people who have been at English public chools and then at Oxford are in the habit of talking. Laughter.) To Canadians and other people in the Dominion such speech seems affected, and they dislike it ccordingly. It is not affected at all, really; people who talk like that, as a rule, are talking quite naturally; but it does certainly offend the ear not only of people in Canada and Australia, but it offends the ears of the majority of Englishmen, too. (Laughter.) In Yorkshire, the birthplace of your President, there are thirteen different dialects still spoken—(laughter)—and there are lots more in other parts of England. The result is that to define an English accent is an exceedingly difficult thing, there are such a lot of them; and I think if Canadians and Australians and South Africans would grasp the thought that all Englishmen do not talk in a way that seems exceedingly affected they would like them all the better.

There are lots of things one might say, but there is one great danger that I might just mention in a very few words, and that is the risk of talking and arguing about equality of status. That is a danger that comes from the pride of the Dominions. As soon as we begin to discuss abstract terms and wrangle over them we are putting the Empire into great peril, especially when one of those terms has a mathematical connotation. To realize full equality of status in the strict sense of those words I think you must have either a Federal constitution for the Empire, and that hardly anybody wants, or you must have complete independence of its component parts.

As long as we do not argue about abstractions we may get along pretty well with the entente, tinged with ambition, that the Empire has now become. But if we begin defining, then we are on the brink of trouble. That is what the exceedingly wise statesman of the 18th century, Edmund Burke, was never tired of teaching, to leave abstractions alone, and stick to practical issues; and what happened in the American Revolution, and later in the French Revolution, bore out the wisdom of his contention, and I hope we shall lay it to heart, because if we do not I am quite certain it will lead to great trouble in this Empire of ours, an Empire which, believe me, I want to see maintained.

I have been pointing out certain dangers which, as it seems to me, threaten it, because it is only by facing those dangers that we can hope to remedy them. Although if I looked at things from a narrowly British or a narrowly Canadian point of view I might be disposed to let the Empire go, still when I try to look at it from the point of view of the whole human race I am convinced that it is very desirable that it should continue, (applause), and I hope that anything that I have said will not be construed as meaning that I take a contemptuous view of the Empire, or indeed that I despair of its future. I have simply been trying to point out some of the dangers in order that we may better guard against them. I must apologize for having kept you so long. (Loud applause.)

PRESIDENT EAYRS expressed the thanks of the Club to Professor Waugh.

THE CITY PLANNING PROJECT

An Address by MR. R. C. HARRIS, Commissioner of Works. of the City of Toronto.

(Before a Special Joint Meeting of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, and Toronto Board of Trade.)

19th December, 1929

President Eayrs introduced the speaker, who said: I have been instructed by the City Council to attend your luncheon to-day and give you some information relative to the proposed City Improvement Plan. My address is designed to be purely informative, without bias or partisanship. I shall neither advocate nor oppose, but shall endeavour to place before you clearly the features of the Advisory City Planning Reform as reported upon by the heads of the departments to the City Council, and which is now before the electors for their attention.

May I first direct attention to a few salient features which were considered when the proposition was under review by the heads of departments? In 1915 Mr. E. L. Cousins, Chief Engineer of the Harbour Commission, Mr. Fred Gaby, Chief Engineer of the Hydho-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, and myself, were instructed to make a report relative to transportation for the City of Toronto. We investigated the traffic in the central district bounded on the south by Front Street, on the north by Dundas St., on the west by Simcoe St., and the east by Jarvis St., for a 12-hour period from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., and we found, in-bound, 19,505 vehicles, and out-bound 19,898 vehicles.

In 1928 the Transportation Commission, for its own purposes, made a survey of the vehicular traffic in the same territory, and found that in a 12-hour period there were 58,386 vehicles in-bound and 53,810 out-bound;

showing that the number of vehicles in and out of that district had increased in the 13 years from roughly 39,000 to 112,000. In 1915 in the Toronto district there were 10,400 licenses issued for automotive vehicles; and in 1928 there were 112,960 licenses—an increase of 986 per cent. That gives some view as to the added traffic which the highways are called on to bear, and a census taken of the inflow and outflow showed that a very considerable proportion of that added traffic found its way to and from the centre of the city.

Before you is spread a large-scale map showing the proposal of the report relative to the plan. This black circle indicates a radius of ¾ of a mile from the City Hall, its westerly rim lying just east of Spadina Avenue, the easterly rim at Ontario Street, the northerly rim just about College Street, and the south rim at Fleet Street. Within that circle lies, approximately, seven per cent. of the total area of the City of Toronto, and the land and buildings and other assessments within that district produce 32 per cent. of the revenue of the municipality.

The total of our assessment made in 1928 for the year 1929, upon which the revenue of the city is raised, amounted to $970,956,745. The assessment in the area bounded on the south by the waterfront, on the north by College Street, and lying between Parliament Street and Spadina Avenue, showed a gross of $309,028,000, or 32 per cent. of the total assessment of the city. That means that that district pays not only 32 per cent. of the general assessment of the city, but pays 32 per cent. of any improvement of which the city pays the whole cost, and pays 32 per cent. of the city's proportion of all local improvements that are prosecuted in any section of the city, wherever they may be. For instance, we widened North Yonge Street, and the city pays 50 per cent. of it, and this district pays 32 per cent. of that 50 per cent. That applies generally throughout the city. The average local improvement is shared in by the citizens at large to the extent of 25 per cent. to 33 per cent.—I am now referring to pavements, sidewalks, sewers, etc.—and this district pays 32 per cent. of that 25 per cent. to 33 per cent.

Now, before considering the general plan, may I direct your attention particularly to Fleet Street, the boulevard drive running from Yonge Street to the extreme City Limits at the Humber. Fleet Street was laid out by reason of an agreement made with the Harbour Commission in connection with Harbour development, and was done by the whole city to a certain extent, the pavement, sidewalks, sewers, on the section known as Fleet Street, from Bathurst Street easterly to Yonge, being done as a local improvement and paid for by the adjoining property owners; from Bathurst Street westerly, it being known as Boulevard Drive, the improvements on the thoroughfare were paid for entirely by the city at large.

Fleet Street is to be projected across the southerly end of the city from its present stopping-place at Yonge Street easterly, just south of the viaduct, to Cherry Street, which is a short distance west of the Don River; southerly on Cherry Street to Commissioner Street—a thoroughfare laid out by the Harbour Commissioners in their development; then northerly on Leslie Street to Eastern Avenue—at one time Ardagh Avenue; easterly along Eastern Avenue, which finds its exit immediately west of the Woodbine Race Course.

In considering the extensions we have to make, bear in mind that Fleet Street is a great big traffic line of the city. Great difficulty used to be experienced in getting to the waterfront. If you recollect, we had nothing but level crossings, plus a very flimsy and inadequate bridge at Yonge Street and a flimsy and out-worn bridge crossing Spadina Avenue. As a result of viaduct construction we shall now have ready access to the waterfront. A bridge is being built by the City at Bathurst Street and will be ready within the next few months, at a cost of almost a million dollars, which will run southerly from Front Street to a point about 350 feet north of Fleet Street, running out at or about Dalhousie Street. In connection with the viaduct a very fine bridge, 86 feet wide, has been built from Front Street southerly to Fleet Street over Spadina Avenue. Then, coming to York Street, where the subway runs under the viaduct, this is to be completed; another subway at Bay Street; a third at Yonge Street, and others at Jarvis, Sherbourne, Parliament and Cherry Streets. Thus we have provided adequate means of getting to and from this great big traffic line on Fleet Street.

Now, to proeced to the proposal of the Planning Commission which was formed by the City in 1928 for advisory purposes. They submitted their report on March 9, 1929, and it was at once referred to the heads of the departments for consideration and report. In the latter part of June the Board of Trade submitted a certain recommendation relative thereto, which was in turn passed on to the heads of departments, and on October 31st we presented the report to the City Council, as a result of which a question is being submitted to the people—"Are you in favour of the City issuing debentures to the extent of $19,000,000 to finance this City Planning Project?" That will be voted on on January 1st.

The circle shown on this map encloses an area of seven per cent. of the City lying within the radius of three-quarters of a mile from the City Hall. University Avenue is an old thoroughfare running southerly from Bloor Street, north of Queen Street it has a total width of 180 feet. It is proposed to extend University Avenue in a southerly direction from Queen Street to the north side of Front Street, finding an inlet to Front Street at a point about 140 feet west of York Street. From the south side of Queen Street it is proposed to extend the Avenue southerly at a width of 180 feet to Vimy Circle, which has a radius of about 1,200 feet, a diameter of about 400 feet. From Vimy Circle it is proposed to extend the thoroughfare south-easterly at a width of 100 feet to the north side of Front Street. It is proposed to lay out from Vimy Circle, running in a southwesterly direction, a great 100-foot motor highway, referred to as Passchendaele Road. This highway runs southwesterly from Vimy Circle, crossing John Street at the intersection of Adelaide Street, then running westerly across Widmer Street and Charlotte Street, crossing King Street and Spadina Avenue, and finding its outlet at Wellington Street, which is then continued westerly to Portland Street, and a new thoroughfare 100 feet in width is laid out from Portland Street to Bathurst Street. You can readily perceive the use of such a highway for carrying inbound and outbound traffic to and from not only the centre of the city but the eastern and the easterly and northerly part of the municipality.

To the western extremity of the thoroughfare we have Bathurst Street. Traffic, inbound and outbound, may use Bathurst Street and along Passchendaele Road to Vimy Circle, and the traffic may leave Toronto at any intersections, and so on. It also taps Spadina Avenue, which is bridged over the railway track, and traffic may leave or enter at Spadina Avenue, Adelaide Street, John Street, Simcoe Street, or any street lateral to it.

From Vimy Circle easterly it is proposed to widen Richmond Street from 66 feet to 100 feet, the widening to end at the westerly limits of Cambrai Avenue. The T.T.C. has indicated that if this widening be effected they are quite content to move from Richmond Street all their tracks which are now used mainly for loop purposes.

Immediately to the east of Queen's Park Avenue (or University Avenue) it is proposed to widen York Street from Richmond Street southerly to Front Street by taking 20 feet off the west side of the street, making a thoroughfare 86 feet in width as against its present width of 56 feet. From Richmond Street northerly it is proposed to divert York Street, which now enters Queen Street at this point just opposite Osgoode Hall; it is proposed to divert it northeasterly across Queen Street to the square which is designed to lie in front of the Registery Office on the north side of Albert Street, between Chestnut and Elizabeth Street. This York Street diversion would run northeasterly to Louisa Street, where it intersects Bay, and as part of the proposal it is suggested that Bay Street, from its point of intersection with Louisa Street, and that York Street as diverted, should be widened to 86 feet northerly to Dundas Street.

You will recollect that Bay Street from Queen Street northerly was extended and widened to 86 feet in the Spring. Another widening process will commence on Bay Street from College southerly to Dundas. If this project be effected you will then have an 86-foot thoroughfare on Bay Street from its northerly limit to the junction of Louisa Street.

In that connection the Advisory Committee of the City Planning Commission have suggested that the square lying immediately to the east of St. Julien Place—with which I shall deal in a few minutes—at present occupied by Manning Chambers, Shea's Theatre, Purdy-Mansell and a few other buildings of inconsequential value, should be used for public purposes, and that an extension of the Municipal Buildings, the City Hall, should be built there. The heads of the departments have advised that in their opinion it would be a very wise proposal if the City followed the suggestion to secure the property for public purposes, although we refrain from advising as to what use it should be put. If that were done, and St. Julien Place were acquired, which lies between that square situated at the northeast corner of Bay and Queen Street and Osgoode Hall, there would be a public ownership of lands on the north side of Queen Street having a frontage of 1,800 feet, and lying between the east side of University Avenue, where Osgoode Hall properly commences, and the west side of Bay Street.

It is proposed to lay out on the north side of Queen Street a square to be known as St. Julien Place, the westerly limit of which shall be formed by the diversion northeasterly of York Street and the projection northwesterly of Cambrai Avenue north of Queen Street.

May I direct your attention to Elizabeth and Chestnut Streets, which flank the Registry Office and run directly north from St. Julien Place? Elizabeth Street runs directly north to College Street; Chestnut Street stops at Gerrard Street. Those streets at present have a width of 66 feet, a pavement width of 28 feet, and it is suggested that this latter width might well be extended to 46 feet at the mere cost of extending the pavement, thus measurably increasing the traffic-bearing facilities on those two streets. Therefore, you see, from St. Julien Place you would have traffic entering Chestnut Street, Elizabeth Street, Bay Street, Osgoode Street to the west of University Avenue, and conversely, traffic coming from these thoroughfares to the centre of the city.

The unbroken distance on the south side of Queen Street in the block from York Street to Soho is 845 feet —a very long city block. It is proposed to intersect this block, to break it up, by opening a thoroughfare known as Cambrai Avenue which would run northerly from the north side of Front Street and immediately to the east of the Royal York Hotel, running northerly to Pearl Street at a width of 100 feet. From Pearl Street northerly it is proposed that the new thoroughfare be opened on the west side of the avenue to a width of 70 feet for southbound traffic, and that Sheppard Street be utilized as the easterly branch for north-bound traffic. Sheppard Street has a width of 50 feet, and in that case a virtue has been made of necessity, because a very large and expensive building has been erected here, and if it had been designed to project Cambrai Avenue due north the removal of that building would have involved a tremendous cost. Those two branches come together a short distance north of Richmond Street, where it is proposed to lay out a small parkette for ornamental purposes; then proceed at a width of 100 feet to Queen Street, crossing Queen Street, and proceed north by west, forming the easterly flank of St. Julien Place.

Queen Street from above Soho Street westerly to Spadina Avenue is a wide thoroughfare. From that point easterly it has a width of 66 feet. It is designed to widen Queen Street, under the Widening Plan Act, to 100 feet at a point just east of Soho Street, through to Sherbourne Street, which will give Queen Street a width of 100 feet.

If the ratepayers endorse this scheme and the Council pass favourably upon it this widening will be done over a considerable period of years, in order that the Corporaation may take the benefit of the Pavement Widening Act.

You recollect that I indicated that Richmond Street was to be widened to the easterly branch of Cambrai Avenue to 100 feet. From that point easterly the width of 66 feet is retained, but the car tracks would be eliminated; and from the junction of Richmond Street and Jarvis Street a new thoroughfare is designed, as indicated on the plans, called Arras Road, laid out at a width of 100 feet, proceeding easterly from Jarvis and Richmond Streets, crossing George Street, thence northerly crossing Queen Street, crossing at Sherbourne Street, and then running easterly to the corner of Dundas and Parliament—Dundas being formerly known as Wilton Avenue. This street running to the northeast is complementary to the new Passchendaele Road running to the southwest. Then you get from the extreme west to the extreme north-east along Fleet Street, up Bathurst Street or Spadina, Passchendaele Road, through Vimy Circle, on through Richmond Street and Arras Road, and then out through many avenues of traffic north and east, in order that the traffic may be distributed through the northeasterly section of the city.

Eastern Avenue, to which I referred to in opening, carries a very heavy volume of traffic. Crossing the railway tracks at the Don, coming westerly to Trinity Street, then southerly to Front Street—Front Street, by the way, being a very heavily trafficed artery, very dangerous and insecure though it may be; but this is the direction of the traffic, westerly from Eastern Avenue, southeasterly on Trinity Street, westerly on Front Street, this acute angle having to be negotiated in the face of advancing traffic; and while it is a comparatively small improvement it spells a tremendous convenience to the very heavy traffic which runs on Eastern Avenue. The flow would be westerly on Eastern Avenue and southwesterly at an easy angle into Front Street, without any embarrassment caused by reason of the advancing traffic.

Within the past two or three years the Toronto General Hospital authorities approached the City and expressed the desire to erect a new addition to the Hospital, and asked that Christopher Street be closed to Centre Avenue, running from Elizabeth westerly into University Avenue, and the City agreed to do that provided the Hospital authorities would lay out at their own expense an extension westerly from Elizabeth Street. At the time Gerrard Street entered the east side of Elizabeth Street. The Hospital authorities laid out a thoroughfare 66 feet in width from the west side of Elizabeth Street to the east side of University Avenue, and paved and sidewalked it entirely at their own expense.

Gerrard Street is a great thoroughfare running from the extreme easterly limit, at Coxwell Avenue, at a width of 66 feet, westerly to Parliament, a slight jog to the north, and then directly westerly; therefore traffic bound to the eastern city limits or any intermediate points, or vice versa, finds a very ready inlet and outlet by way of Gerrard Street. But there is a portion of Gerrard Street lying between Elizabeth Street and Yonge Street which is only 50 feet in width, and the proposal is that it should be widened on the south side to 66 feet. In the minds of the heads of the departments that proposal, quite aside from its virtue as being a widened link in the great thoroughfare running from the easterly city limits to the centre of the city, has another virtue in that one of the largest theatres in America is to be erected in the block between Hayter Street and Gerrard Street; the Eaton Company is erecting its building at the southwest corner of College and Yonge Streets, running westerly to Bay Street; and there will be a tremendous volume of traffic resulting not only from the location of this commercial development at this point but also because of the theatre. So important did it appear to the owners of the land lying between Hayter and Gerrard Streets on the west side of Yonge Street that they entered into an agreement with the city whereby they will, at their own entire expense, widen Yonge Street on the west side by 20 feet, thus making a width of 86 feet. Some years ago the city made an agreement with the Eaton Company whereby that Company widened Yonge Street on the west side by 20 feet from Hayter to College Street. Then we will have to widen from Hayter Street southerly to Gerrard Street from 66 to 86 feet.

You gentlemen are well acquainted with that awkward and dangerous jog at the corner of Yonge and Carlton. One coming east on College Street jogs south on Yonge Street equivalent to about one and a half times the width of the street, and then easterly on Carlton Street. It is proposed to abolish the jog, and to swing the east curvature from the east side of Yonge Street opposite College Street south-easterly into Carlton Street at a width of 100 feet, immediately to the west of the prolongation of Victoria Street, to reduce the width to 80 feet and extend it through at an 80-foot width to Jarvis Street.

An extension of Victoria Street has also been designed, from Gerrard into Carlton, giving a through street parallel to Yonge Street from the Esplanade northerly to College and Carlton Street, where traffic may find a ready avenue of distribution.

Elm Street ran from the east side of University Avenue to Yonge Street; and to the west there was a thoroughfare known as Caer Howell Street, now known as Elm Street, a thoroughfare with a very pronounced jog a short distance west of University Avenue and just to the west of the school formerly located at that point. As the City has the land for widening between University Avenue and Simcoe Street, it is proposed to divert this thoroughfare in a west-by-north direction and carry it into Baldwin Street, which will allow traffic to proceed west on Baldwin Street to Spadina Avenue, to a lateral street, or travel any of this large number of streets west of Spadina Avenue, from which ready access may be found to the west and northwest section of the City.

I think that primarily Cambrai Avenue was the spinal column of the proposition, as it were, running north from the centre of the Union Station into Queen Street, thence to St. Julien Place, thence to Bay Street, Chestnut Street, Elizabeth Street, etc.

We have been asked, why concentrate all the traffic in the downtown district? I would ask you gentlemen to remember that while these avenues bring traffic to the downtown district they also carry traffic from it to the north, to the southeast, to the east and west, just as they carry traffic in; and while there may be a tendency to concentration there is also an equal tendency to dissipation, and one fairly balances the other.

Now, coming to the financial side of the project, my friend Mr. Wilson, the Commissioner of Finance, has prepared some instructive tables, and he will be able to deal with this question much better than I; but we are limited to one speaker, and I may deal with it for a moment, imperfectly as I may.

The City Planning Commission in their report advised that if the sum of $13,000,000 were appropriated by the Corporation, free of all interest or other charges, this proposal could be swung; that they would purchase property, open streets, and buy properties on either side of the side should be opened. They reckoned on selling those properties on increased values, and by reason of the revenue derived from the re-sale at the increased prices, plus rent during the time of holding, that the whole proposition could be swung for that amount. The heads of the departments, in viewing that proposition, were of the opinion that taxation on account of this work should not be placed on the electorate until the units of the work severally, as they progressed and were completed, were ready for use by the ratepayers. There is nothing novel in that. Our whole local improvement system is designed upon that basis so far as revenue and assessment are concerned. For instance, when we lay a pavement, a sidewalk, or any other local improvement for you, during the time of construction all interest charges on account of the money necessary to accomplish the work are charged to construction. We cannot levy a local improvement rate against property until the work is finally completed and the ultimate cost determined, until the ratepayers who have to pay for the improvement are able to use it.

For instance, it would be quite inequitable and absurd that the City should assess a sewerage system three or four years prior to the time the ratepayers were allowed to drain into it. Therefore we recommend to the Council that the same plan should be followed in connection with this work; that interest on the various sections of the work shall be charged into the construction cost until the individual improvement is an accomplished fact; just as you gentlemen do in business—you charge your interest costs to the business until the business is operating and in a position to bring you returns. Under the plan suggested by the Advisory Planning Commission the interest charges would have been at once assessed against the ratepayers, while our plan defers those interest charges on successive units until each of the units is completed, and it is then charged.

It is estimated that it will cost $36,851,324 capital investment to swing this work. The interest charges during construction are estimated at $4,864,000, making a total of $41,715,324. If you deduct the estimated revenue derived from the re-sale of property at enhanced prices—$23,083,303—you have a balance slightly in excess of $13,000,000, and if all interest charges during the process of the work be charged to construction it gives you $18,632,021. Adding to that the debenture discount, estimated at $350,000, you have a principal debt of $19,000,000 which it is estimated will be necessary to swing the work.

The Finance Commissioner has prepared a table which indicates the rate in cents per thousand dollars which is estimated will be necessary to collect from the ratepayers to finance this improvement, predicated upon certain assessment increases which have been very, very conservatively estimated. We estimate that in 1936 the assessment of the City will be $1,155,000,000. We think that estimate is very conservative, because the increases in the City assessment during the last six years have been about 17.66 per cent. The increase in assessment which we have predicated between 1930 and 1936 is about 13.76 per cent. increase.

As I said, we do not propose to charge any rating against the ratepayers until some unit is completed. We have taken an arbitrary period of 5 years for that. Predicated upon the assessed values which I have given you —and this is quite a conservative estimate during the term—it is estimated that for$1,000, of assessment, the ratepayer will be called upon to pay 23 cents in 1936, 54 cents in 1937, 69 cents in 1938, 75 cents in 1938, 73 cents in 1940, 76 cents in 1941, 74 cents in 1942, 72 cents in 1943, 71 cents in 1944, and 69 cents in 1945; and from that period forward as the serial bonds issued for the work fall in. From this statement you will be able to calculate very easily the revenue collected upon the multiple of $1,000. It is proposed, provided the ratepayers approve of this project and Council proceeds with it, that the bonds will be retired in 1985. It is felt by the heads of the departments, in bringing the proposal forward, that the security will largely pay for this improvement, inasmuch as they would gain probably the major benefit from it, and at the present generation of taxpayers should not be unduly levied on account of it.

There are some other matters which I think you should know in order to assist you to arrive at a conclusion, but I have already taken more than the time allotted to me, and I have but to thank you for giving me so patient a hearing on a subject, which is I presume, somewhat trying to you. I thank you very much. (Loud Applause.)

Mr. Frank Rolph voiced the thanks of the meeting for the address, and the appreciation which all citizens feel in having such valuable civic officials as Mr. Harris.

FREEMASONRY OF EMPIRE.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL RT. HON. JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS, P.C., C.H., C.L.H., ETC. AT A JOINT MEETING OF THE EMPIRE AND CANADIAN CLUBS.

3rd January, 1930

Introduced by the president of the Canadian Club, General Smuts said: Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, Mr. Prime Minister, and gentlemen: I appreciate very much the great honour you are doing me to-day. I had been told before I came to Toronto that I would receive a great reception in this great province and its capital. But what I see before me today surpasses my most sanguine expectations. In fact it is almost a terrifying meeting. I have never learned in a long political life to shake off a certain nervous trepidation when I have to face my fellow men in mass formation. And I am not sure that the political mass formation is not more terrifying than the military formation. However, I see before me to-day and I feel it in my bones that this is a friendly meeting, and that in speaking to you today unprepared and with no fixed thoughts to lay before you I am among friends and I can develop my theme as my mind moves me along.

I regret exceedingly gentlemen that my stay in Canada is so short. It is only a few days and this will be my last day here on this trip but I thought it would be a great mistake from every viewpoint and certainly a mistake from my own point of view if ever I set foot on this continent, which is fast becoming the dominant continent of the world without paying Canada a visit first and foremost. I should like to stay here much longer and I should like to learn to know you not in a mass but individually. I should like to travel up and down this enormous country which I am persuaded and most firmly believe is going to be one of the great countries of the world. I should like to see what foundations are being laid here, what vision people have of their future, of the preparation they are making for the heritage of their children. But I have no time and I have only these few opportunities which I have made the best use of at Montreal, at Ottawa and today here to come in touch with the Canadian mind and my Canadian friends. Perhaps later on I shall come again. Who knows? Look upon this as a return visit of an old Boer for the visit of many Canadians to my country. Look upon this as a case of heaping coals of fire.

I was reminded very strongly this morning of this past incident in our history when I was passing through one of your streets and I saw a distinguished monument, one of the most conspicuous in your city, devoted to the memory of those great doings of your men in South Africa a generation ago. Well, I am here to return the visit. And as I say things have changed so much. The atmosphere in the Empire has altered so entirely that coming here today from the far south to the far north I find myself among friends. Gentlemen, that to my mind, is the dominant note in our great Empire. You may go to distant Africa; you may go to America, to Europe or to Asia; you may cover the continents of the earth, but wherever the British flag flies, the dominant note is friendship. You find yourself among friends. In fact you find yourself in a family circle. It is a curious thing. I am not a Free-mason, but I am told that there is among Free-masons that friendly feeling which makes them understand each other to whatever race they belong and from whatever surroundings they are taken. Well, this is the great Free-masonry of Empire. Here you have the understanding of deep sympathies. We may speak different languages; we may have a different past; we may even long years ago have been at each others throats but we are friends and we feel ourselves in a great family circle. And this is what makes me feel happy here today coming from near the south pole to near the north pole, I feel myself still in the great circle of friends, in the great family circle, and, gentlemen, to my mind that is one of the most precious achievements to the credit of the human race. We do not realize these things. We never sit down quietly to think what it means in terms of human advance, of human peace and security, that you should have this group spread over the earth, dominated by similar ideals, united together by sentiments of friendship and co-operation and forming this close circle both of themselves and for the good of the world. I am sure we never sit down quietly to think out what it means but to me this is in many ways the greatest political achievement of time.

People sometimes blame me—in my own country I may say—they say: "But we do not understand General Smuts. Here is a man with that past, a man who fought to the uttermost against the British Empire, and look at his language now. He talks like a Britisher." (Applause.)

Well gentlemen, if I talk the language which I have talked here in Canada and which I habitually talk in my own country, it is not because I am an Imperialist in the political sense at all; it is not because I am what was called in the Victorian Age a Jingo. God forbid. I am not an Imperialist and I am not a Jingo. But I am a human. I understand human feelings. I realize and I believe that in our great commonwealth, in that great group which we call the British Empire, we have achieved something of the greatest political and spiritual value for the human race.

I with you have lived through the most testing times of history. We have seen the earth shaken to its very foundations. We have seen the great Kingdoms and the great Empires of the world go down one after the other. One structure has survived, the most complex of all, the most far reaching, most wide spread, the most least coherent, the one least bound, tied up by external ties, we have seen that as the only survivor in that great holocaust. And why has it survived. It has survived because it was bound not by political ties, not by ties of force, not by the bonds which the other Empires utilized, but this was bound together by human feelings, by ideals, by friendships and by those things which touch us deepest in our human nature. And that is why I talk Empire —not because I am an Imperialist but because I believe that in our group we have solved problems, we have solved a problem which mankind has been after for thousands of years, but which is beginning to be realized in our group, and which from our group and by the example of our group, will gradually spread and permeate until it dominates mankind. That is my faith. I believe that in the British Empire we have something of the greatest human value, of the greatest value not only for ourselves but for the human race, and therefore, gentlemen, I am for conserving it. I talk Empire. I am a missionary of Empire in spite of my past. I see here that great ideals are being realized which mankind is after and which will mean a better earth, a new era if it is realized, for the rest of mankind. We have our troubles. No group, no Empire, has been more thoroughly tested during the last decade or two than the British Empire. We have not had all peace, and fair weather. There is no group of the world today which has had such rough times and been so roughly tested as we. And the best continues all the time. This is not a fair weather Empire of ours. We have our troubles. They have their troubles at the heart of Empire in Great Britain and you can take it from me that old mother country of yours is putting up one of the most gallant and heroic fights for her position in the world. You here far away in Canada perhaps often hear the word "decadence." You may be induced to have a pessimistic feeling about prospects at the heart of the Empire. Let me tell you this. I have been there in the last couple of months. It had been my privilege and my opportunity to come into touch with leaders of all sorts, political leaders, the leaders of labor, every sort of leadership I have come in touch with. It is my business as a public man and you can take it from me, there is no sign of decadence. There are only signs of new life. The people of Great Britain realize that they are up against one of the most difficult times in their whole history. It is possible to win the war and yet to lose the peace. That they realize. They realize that the great struggle of fifteen years ago is going on still and it is still a question who shall pull through, and whether victory ultimately will be achieved, and you may take it from me that in Great Britain, whatever you may hear, whatever pessimistic accounts may reach you, the people of the old country are determined to pull through, to put their house in order, to maintain that unique position which they have occupied hitherto in the world.

I take off my hat to the British people. I have seen them in the grimmest of times and I can see that once more they are beginnig to realize that they are up against it, and that toughness of fibre, that strength of soul, which has seen them through all the crises, the great crises of their history, will once more be seen in this economic, industrial struggle for the maintenance of their position which is going on today. I have this feeling, that it is very likely that in Great Britain they may have to revert to the methods of the war time. You remember in 1916 when things went very bad, when the war seemed to be going against us the British people made up their minds to change their government, to say: we are not going to continue with a policy of wait and see, a policy of Empire waiting on events, and we are not going to continue mere party Government. We have a national task before us, the grimmest in our history, and we want a national Government which will pool all the resources of the nation and which will concentrate all the political force of the nation in the struggle before us. And I am not sure that in the end that may not have to be done in England. But there is no reason to despair or be despondent, and when these prophets of evil come to you here in far distant Toronto just smile at them. Think of what our people have done in history, and you smile at them. We have troubles elsewhere. There are enormous troubles in front of the British Empire. Look at the situation in India today. An appalling problem. No reason to despair. We have been up against these things before. We shall be up against them again in the future. With patience, with this feeling which we have in the Empire that we have to do not with enemies but with friends, we shall pull through. You deal in one way and on one footing with your enemy. You deal in quite a different spirit with your friend. He may differ from you. He may appear a most unpleasant and objectionable fellow. But if he is really a friend of yours, if he is a member of the family you treat him in quite a different spirit. And that is the spirit in which India will be dealt with. We shall apply patience to all that impatience. We shall apply wisdom to all the unwisdom. We shall bring to bear the experience of the ages on all that wild talk which goes on and in the end we shall pull through. India remains today, gentleman, one of the glories of the British Empire. I am not sure that in ages to come when the history of our time and our age is written and the achievements of Great Britain are recorded, that it will not be said that the greatest achievement ol all was this, how that far off Island in Europe on the confines of Europe, brought peace and prosperity and justice and development to over three hundred million people of a distant continent.

No, I do not despair of these problems before us. You take the case of Ireland. What greater problem have we had in our day than Ireland. I remember the days when I went there and the Black and Tan business was at its very worst. Ireland today, I will not say is happy and contented—whoever is, in these times. I think you are about the most happy and contented people I have come across recently, and Canada has every reason to be happy and contented, looking forward down the great vista of history that lies before you. But Ireland is off the slate. You have no longer British Parliament and British statesmen wrestling by day and night and occupying all their time with the problems of Ireland. Ireland is off the slate and she is working out her own destiny. That was because those rebel leaders in Ireland were members of the family. Out against the British Empire to the uttermost, they could be brought to sit around the table as friends and could talk as friends. Dominion status! That is the way, gentlemen, that the Irish question was solved, and I mention this because in my opinion that is the way and that is the spirit in which all the great problems that confront us will be solved. We have lived through difficult times, very troubled times. All over the world and in all parts of the Empire you have sanctioned new thoughts and the fermentation of new ideas and unless you read signs correctly you may be entirely misled as to what is really going on. I fear that you here in Canada may have got the impression during recent years that everything was wrong with South Africa. South Africa did not want a Smut's Government. I must be wrong. South Africa didn't want the Union Jack but she wanted a flag of her own. She wanted to go in for all sorts of experiments and all this world experimentation. All these reachings out in new directions, deceive the unwary. They did not understand and appreciate what is really going on. Gentlemen, it is all right. It is all right. We shall make our experiments and we shall pay for all mistakes. But you may be certain of this that neither in South Africa nor in other parts of the Empire, without specifying, because I should not mention any nation beyond my own country, but I believe there is the suggestion South Africa desires to secede from this Empire, to break it up, or sever the connection, which means so much to us. I do not believe that there is any danger in that sense, but what I do want is this, that we should realize what this Empire means to us, how much it does mean to us, its value to us, how it gives protection to us, how it gives security to us, how it brings peace, and that this friendly intimate feeling would never exist in the world if this Empire were not here to bind us together; and I want us to realize more and more in the future that this is something supremely valuable to us, which we must in our political life, in our political thought, foster and promote and develop in every way possible.

In this changing world in which we are living today you look for points of support for law and order and stability. It is a fluid world where things are changing very rapidly and as we have seen. Here you have something stable. Let us keep it. Here we have a rock fortress from which we can sally forth to attack other problems of mankind. Let us value our base. The British Empire is our base. Keep your base secure. This fortress should ever remain our great security, our shield, our defence, the rallying point to which we will return and from which we will sally forth as time requires. You look abroad, around the world and you see what else there is. What else besides the British Empire, for the good of humanity, for stable progress? Well, to my mind the first thing is this. First I see the British Empire. That is Number 1. In the second place I say, for progress, for good prospects in the future, we have co-operation with the United States. To my mind that is the second hope which exists in the world to-day for world peace and for stability and for progress. The people of the United States have very much the same mentality as ourselves. There are bonds of the deepest value, bonds which are far stronger than one would think, if one judged merely by surface indications. I believe that the inner ties which bind together the peoples in the British Empire with the people of the United States are far stronger than are commonly appreciated. And there you have a people very much of the same mentality as ourselves. You have Canada as the great link between them and the British Empire and I feel sure that in the co-operation between these two great groups you have the greatest power, greatest drive, the greatest engine power, for the future progress of mankind. I advocate no combinations against the rest of the world. Those balances of power and things of that kind which we have learned of to our bitter experience, I am not advocating that for a moment, but I do say this that in our co-operation with the United States and in her co-operation with us, we have one of the most valuable forms of security and support for the progress of mankind. That is profoundly appreciated by the British people. You will remember years ago when we were in alliance with Japan it was felt that that alliance might in the end mean some drifting apart between the British Empire and the United States. That was certainly felt very strongly by certain British Dominions, and in deference to that feeling and to that fear that we might drift apart from the United States, the foreign policy of the British Empire was put on a new foundation, and today there is no difficulty whatever and there is no obstacle of any kind against the fullest and freest co-operation between us and that great nation beyond your borders. Well, that is to my mind the second great line we can take for the future. And beyond that we have the League of Nations. Our whole effort in the world today with our experience in the great world war is to see how we can bind humanity together. How we can give security to the nations of the world and prevent the calamities such as we have seen in our day from recurring. And the League of Nations is the third line. I put it Number 3. Because in the British Empire you have solid facts, something tested by time, something tested by the greatest events of history and which has stood the shock of the severest strain. In the co-operation of the United States I believe we have something which is quite possible and probable and will lead to the development of new and great support for the defence of mankind, and, thirdly, I place our world wide co-operation in the League of Nations. That League, which is covering mankind almost today is largely founded on the model of our great Empire and whatever may happen to our Empire in the future, it will be one of its main glories that is proved the precedent and the exemplar for the larger combination which in the end may mean the peace of mankind. It is all still very experimental. No one can say with certainty and definiteness what the prospects are for the future. It is still a great experiment. The experiment has been working now for some ten years with ever greater success, and I am firmly persuaded just as the British Empire has succeeded in bringing and maintaining eternal peace among one-fourth of the human race, so the League in time will develop sufficient cohesion and power to maintain peace among the four-fourths of the human race.

Gentlemen, I have travelled far afield today. I cannot touch on questions of your internal development. It would be a waste of your time and I am not competent to do so. But I have certain great questions at heart. I have been one of those men who have taken part in the events of my time to the fullest extent, as politician, as a fighter. I think from every conceivable angle I have approached the great problems which are agitating the world today and to my mind the great task which lies before us today is to see how we can bring together the world on some such basis as already exists in the British Empire, and it is on that ground with that mentality that I have approached the question of the League of Nations, which I am sure may yet, in the fullness of time, perhaps after generations, prove to be as great a shield to the world as the British Empire proves to be to one-quarter of the human race living under the British flag.

I was walking through the Gevernment building here today and my attention was drawn in the Prime Minister's room to a shield which bore the motto of the Province. And the keynote of that motto was fidelis—loyalty—the greatest word in the world today. The word which you have chosen for your motto which gives us the glorious reminder of your past and which will remain as the great treasure of your future is the word loyalty. To my mind one of the great tasks before us in our great commonwealth is altogether related to that sentiment, more than ever to develop loyalty to the fullest, loyalty within the Empire and beyond it, loyalty to the ideals we stand for, and loyalty to the human race. The word which you have chosen as the motto for this province is the key word for mankind and I can wish you no better luck, I can express no better wish for you for the future than that you may make your contribution as you have made in the most abundant nature in the past to the realization of the fullest meaning of that word. In that way, Canada, and this great province, this bed rock province of Canada, will make its greatest contribution to the welfare of the Empire and the world.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Hugh Eayrs, the President of the Empire Club to voice the thanks of the meeting. Mr. Eayrs said that General Smuts was to be warmly thanked not merely for his extraordinarily able address to-day, but for all the years of distinguished services which he had rendered to his own country, to Great Britain and to the Empire. As a soldier, as a South African and later, as an Imperial statesman, and as one who had done a wonderful day's work in advancing the cause of the League of Nations, the citizenry of the British Empire owed General Smuts a very deep debt of gratitude.

BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS

ADDRESS BY PROF. JOHN PERCIVAL DAY, B.A., B.SC., D.PHIL., ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, MCGILL UNIVERSITY

9th January, 1930

PRESIDENT EAYRS introduced the speaker.

PROFESSOR DAY was received with applause, and said: I thank you for the opportunity of addressing this Club—a privilege which I highly prize—and I thank you, Mr. President, for the kindly words in which you have introduced me. I will speak to you about the Bank for International Settlements. On the 16th of September, 1928 the six Governments most concerned with Reparation payments agreed at Geneva to set up a Committee of Experts for the purpose of drawing up proposals for a complete and final settlement of the reparation problem. The chairman of this Committee was the American, Owen D. Young, and their proposals are known as the Young Plan, without implying that Mr. Young had any more to do with it than any other member. It was one of the proposals of the Young Plan that a Bank for International Settlements should be established. Before discussing this Bank, it is advisable to remind ourselves of the outstanding features of the Young Plan as contrasted with the Dawes Plan which has been operating since 1924. The Young Plan fixed—which the Dawes Plan did not—the total amount of annuities which Germany has to pay and the period during which the payments have to be made. According to the Plan the last payment will be made on the 31st March, 1988. This definite fixing of the final payment is clearly a factor of great importance; it gives Germany the encouragement of seeing the end of the road, and an inducement to co-operate, which were both formerly lacking.

The second great change was the handing back to Germany of the transfer problem. Under the Dawes Plan, Germany's obligation was definitely limited to providing the money in German Reichsmarks and the business of getting it out of Germany into foreign currencies was entrusted to the Transfer Committee of the Allied creditors. Now under the Young Plan the Transfer Committee vanishes and it is Germany's obligation herself to deliver the annuities in foreign currencies to the value of 660 million Reichsmarks a year unconditionally, and, as to the residue, with the safeguard of conditional postponement of transfer for a period not exceeding two years. It was also part of the plan that the non-postponable 660 million Reichsmarks should be mobilised or commercialised; that is to say, bonds should be sold to the investing public to an amount representing the capitalised value. This would enable the Creditor countries to receive the capital values at once, leaving the annuity payments to be handed over to the bondholders.

The Young Plan, restores fiscal autonomy to Germany; it involves the abolition of the various foreign Commissions at present operating in Germany—the Agent-General for Reparations, the Transfer Committee, the Commissions for Industrial Debentures and so forth—but it requires some external, financial, and non-political authority to act on behalf of the Creditor Powers in the receipt and distribution of the annuities, in co-ordinating and controlling the arrangements for the commercialisation of the unconditional annuities, and for cognate purposes. It was for these responsibilities that the Young Plan advocated the establishment of the Bank for International Settlements.

The plan of the Bank was outlined in the Young Report; on the 14th of November, 1929 a special Organisation Committee at Baden Baden drafted and published the Charter of the Bank and we are now waiting for the necessary treaties between the Powers to provide the basis for the application of the trust agreement. The Bank is to be located at Basle and to receive a charter from the Swiss government; its capital is to be 500 million Swiss francs, the subscription of which is guaranteed in equal parts by the Central Banks of the seven Powers concerned; Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan and the United States. Special arrangements, however, had to be made to meet the case of the United States. If that country is willing to co-operate officially—which is most improbable—the Bank's charter definitely stipulates for the Federal Reserve Bank of New York—and not the Federal Reserve Board—to be the representative, but if the Federal Reserve Board of New York is not allowed to co-operate, an invitation will be extended to some private banking institution or group.

The management of the Bank is to be vested in a Board of Directors composed of the Governors of the seven Central Banks or their nominee substitutes, also seven persons representative of finance, industry, or commerce, one nominated by each Governor. The Bank of France and the Reichsbank have each an additional appointee so long as the reparation payments are incompleted. If any other country has subscribed to the capital of the Bank, its Central Bank may submit the names of four candidates of that nationality for a directorship. From the lists so submitted the existing Board may elect by a two-thirds majority not more than nine persons. The only way, therefore, in which Canada could be represented on the Board is for some person or institution in Canada to receive and take the opportunity to subscribe towards the capital. The Board will then by a two-thirds majority select some Canadian financial institution—as we have no Central Bank—to nominate four candidates, and one of them might be elected.

Strictly speaking, the shareholders as such have no voting rights, but arrangements are made for a general meeting to be attended by nominees of central banks and these nominees have voting rights in proportion to the number of shares subscribed in their country.

Thus the control of the Bank is entirely in the hands of Central Banks. That is an important point. The job of the Bank is mainly a technical job, and they want it kept in the hands of technical experts, and to keep out the politicians as much as possible. Important alterations in its constitution are only possible by an Act of the Swiss Government in agreement with the governments signatory to the proposed international treaty.

What is the Bank supposed to do? In so far as the Bank is to be an organ of external administration of the German annuity payments, it is obvious that some such authority had to be established and that, when established and handling such large sums, it is bound to have considerable influence in the money markets of the World. The real interest of the new institution, however, does not lie there. A much greater importance and a much more powerful role have been forecast for it. It is the logical result of banking progress and the coping stone of the edifice of the financial organisation of the World. Just as in most countries of the World the banking system has been given coherence and leadership and made stronger and more economical by the establishment of a Central Bank—or, at least, of the central banking principle—so in the World as a whole is there to be this Super Bank, co-ordinating, steadying, and strengthening,—perhaps eventually establishing a rational control of the purchasing power of gold. These are big claims and big hopes, but they are circumspectly forshadowed in the Young Plan. "The use of the Bank's credit by central banks within moderate limits, and over short periods, may in time become a normal function scarcely different in its exercise from the use of control bank credit by banks and bankers." "In the natural course of development, it is to be expected that the Bank will in time become an organization, not simply, or even predominantly, concerned with the handling of reparations, but also with furnishing to the world of international commerce and finance important facilities hitherto lacking. Especially is it to be hoped that it will become an increasingly close and valuable link in the co-operation of Central Banking institutions generally—a co-operation essential to the continuing stability of the World's credit structure." This Bank is to be a great and promising experiment in an untried field. The centralization of the World's gold reserves in its keeping would render possible and safe, when necessary, a greater expansion of credit and thus avoid that indefinitely long stretch of falling prices, with all their depressing influence on trade, which otherwise, and failing the discovery of new gold mines, is thought by many to be inevitable. People who refuse to believe that the Central Banks of the World would be willing to trust part or most of their gold to the keeping of such a Bank overlook the fact that much of the reserves of the Central Banks has since the War been increasingly kept in foreign centres as earmarked gold or as what the Germans call devisen: foreign credits easily liquidated.

The Bank for International Settlements might be a great and promising experiment, but like all innovations it encounters opposition. There are people who think that the Bank has enough to do as Trustee for the Reparation payments, that any ambitious enterprise tacked on to that will endanger the Bank's success, and they are strenuously opposed to it being made the field for experiments by the doctrinaire advocates of price stabilisation. Some English people see in it a threat to the international prestige of the Bank of England: some French fear it is a device to bring about Anglo-American financial dominance; and some Americans regard it as a consolidation of European interests to oppose American financial power. More serious, because more potent, are the suspicions of the Central Banks themselves. Just as the commercial banks of any country usually instinctively oppose the establishment of a Central Bank, so the Central Banks may dislike this Super Bank, fearing its encroachment on their preserves. It is for this reason that the Organisation Committee have curtailed the proposed powers of the Bank by inserting the veto clause which forbids any financial operation by the Bank in any market or any currency unless the Central Bank directly concerned assents, though this does not apply to the withdrawal of funds from any market if no objection has been raised to the introduction of such funds. It is for the same reason also that the new Bank is not to be allowed to issue bank notes, to accept bills of exchange, or to lend to Governments.

Obviously, the success of the Bank will depend very largely on its management. A board of 25 directors representing seven or more nationalities and not all familiar with each other's language does not sound too promising, and will throw much of the responsibility on the President who is to be elected by the Board for three years and can be re-appointed. It is rumoured—I do not know that this is right but I am passing it on to you—that the first president is to be an American, and the name of a Chicago banker is mentioned—somebody accustomed to beng shot at, I suppose—(Laughter) and that the first general manager is to be a Frenchman. The chief danger is that the Bank may try to do too much too soon, but there is no reason to suppose this danger is not realized.

Summarising, the essential reparation functions of the Bank are such as to form a solid reason for its existence; beyond that, if the Central Banks of the World keep deposits with the Bank, it can act as a clearing house for international indebtedness, helping to stabilise the foreign exchanges and going far to eliminate the costs and risks now incurred in the shipping and reshipping of gold. Beyond that again, the Bank may in time provide a cure for the one great fault of the gold standard: that gold does not maintain a stable purchasing power. And away beyond all that, let us hope a time may come when we shall be willing to trust to the integrity and skill of the World's best brains rather than to that somewhat mythical thing, the intrinsic value of bullion.

I have said that the one great fault of the gold standard is that gold does not maintain a stable purchasing power.

This is only another way of saying that the general level of prices does not remain steady, that, for example, in 1920 the American dollar could only buy you a little more than a quarter of what it would have bought you in 1896. Now, I have not time to argue out the case that fluctuations in the general price level are an evil. Sir Josiah Stamp has gone so far as to say they are the greatest social evil of our time. They are an evil, a very serious evil, and the World, by tying its monetary units to the value of gold has, while gaining many not-to-be-despised advantages, let itself in for the evil of a fluctuating price level.

For, as we advance in knowledge and power, the output of wealth, of consumable commodities, is ever increasing year by year. Unless our output of money keeps pace with this enormous increase of trade, there is at once a tendency to falling prices. A larger quantity of goods can only be exchanged for the same amount of money as before, if the goods are priced at a lower figure. When, therefore, during the Nineteenth century, there was a stupendous increase in the volume of World trade, there would have been a very great and very detrimental fall in the price level but for the fact that there were a few fortunate gold discoveries and, more important still, people invented acceptable substitutes for gold: bank notes at first and, later, cheques. And in so far as this volume of purchasing power is not backed 100% by gold, we call it credit. But there are limits to which this credit expansion can go: limits which are really psychological in nature. So long as people accept fiduciary money on the understanding that it can be turned into gold on demand, so much gold must be kept by all credit-issuing authorities that the amount will be fully adequate to meet the demands of all who are likely to demand it. It is obvious that these demands will vary from time to time and from place to place, and when at any time and place an increase has not been fully anticipated and arrangements have not been made to meet it completely, a financial panic results.

Now, if every Bank keeps enough gold to meet all probable demands at all times, it is keeping more than it needs at all times except the worst emergencies. It could afford to keep very much less if emergency supplies could be easily obtained, and hence the fundamental advantage for any country of centralising gold reserves, rendering them mobile, and able to be utilised whenever there is a special call upon them. Centralisation of reserves, of course, is of no help if all banks equally and at the same time demand assistance, but this seldom or never happens. The strain starts somewhere and by support given there at once, the danger to the rest is averted. It was found that, when the Federal Reserve System had centralised the gold of the United States, the amount of gold required as a reserve against liabilities could be with safety very considerably reduced; the gold was economised. That is the point I want to make: that the centralisation of gold reserves reduces the amount of gold that is necessary, considering the psychological factors, to support a given amount of credit.

Now, let us look at the future. So far as we can see, man will continue his wonderful progress in the development of natural resources, more and more goods will be turned out for the market year by year. Unless we can increase the volume of purchasing power proportionately, prices will fall and fall, with all the handicap to business activity which falling prices inevitably bring. And this set-back to trade with its attendant unemployment and distress is largely unnecessary. It would not happen if prices kept up. Prices can be kept up if the purchasing power is increased, but how can this be done if new gold mines are not conveniently discovered just at the right time and to the right amount? It cannot be done by an extension of credit, since credit, generally speaking, has already been extended as far as the existing basis permits. Nor can it be done by the use of any further substitutes for gold which, even if one could think of any, would only imply extension of credit. The only solution seems to be to economise the gold we have; in the first place by withdrawing it from domestic circulation where it is not needed, and this has already been done in most countries; in the second place, by centralising it all, not merely in the central reserves of each country, but in one great central fund for the World. If that were done—and this new Bank makes it at least possible to attempt—we could avoid to a large extent that period of falling prices which otherwise is going to be an unnecessary handicap to business enterprise and to the progress of material welfare throughout the World.

This, putting it as briefly as possible, is how things would work. Suppose the output of goods in any country—say, Canada, if you like—increases greatly. To prevent prices falling, credit is extended. Under present conditions, this would lead to a drain on Canadian gold reserves unless other countries also maintained their own proper price levels. The assumption is that, if we develop the co-operation of central banking authorities, they will all aim at keeping their price levels steady. In so far as mistakes are made and price levels get out of gear, a country can be helped out by the new Bank. Instead of allowing Canadian dollars going to a discount, the Bank will lend its credit and provide foreign exchange at the stable parity rate. But the Bank cannot lend its credit like this unconditionally and permanently. The assumption behind the loan is that as soon as, or even before, it became necessary for any country to borrow from the Bank, that country will take, or will have taken, the necessary steps to correct what went wrong. If they had extended credit too far so that their price level, instead of remaining steady, had got out of gear with the price levels of other countries, they would have to restrict credit until the equilibrium was restored and their indebtedness to the Bank paid off. The only theoretical difficulty is what would happen if a country, which had been borrowing from the Bank, refuses to take the necessary steps. What powers of compulsion can the new Bank have? And the answer is, so far as I can see, that it has none, but that it would cut its loss and boycott the country. The advantage, however, of belonging to the World system of credit control would be so great that no country would willingly face expulsion, and hence no powers of compulsion are necessary.

For myself, I can only repeat that I regard the Bank as a great and promising experiment. I trust that it will not be stillborn through a blind American abstention. A year ago the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board stated that he had become convinced that participation in World affairs was a matter of enlightened self-interest for the United States, and he is right. I trust that the Bank will not be crippled by national suspicions or professional jealousies, and I hope that, as it proves its worth and its reliability, its powers may be so extended as to enable it to fulfil completely the wonderful possibilities of service to mankind that are already discernible. (Loud Applause.)

President Eayrs thanked the speaker for his exceedingly lucid exposition of what to many was an involved and intricate subject.

APPENDIX I

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting was held on the 9th of January, 1930, in the Royal York Hotel, Toronto.

PRESIDENT EAYRS, after the Luncheon, called for the reading of the report for the year.

Mr. Stapells moved that the report be taken as read, as it would appear in the Year Book. This motion seconded and carried.

The President then called for the report of the Nominating Committee, which was read by Secretary E. M. Morris, as follows:—

John D. Spence, Esq., K.C.. President
William Tyrell, Esq........ First Vice-President
H. G. Stapells, Esq., B.A.... .Second Vice-President
C. P. Tisdall, Esq...........Third Vice-President
E. M. Morris, Esq......... Secretary-Treasurer

COMMITTEE

Messrs. W. H. Clarke, A. O. Hogg, The Very Reverend Provost Cosgrave; Lt.-Col H. Hooper, D.S.O., M.C., Messrs. W. J. Darby, George Davis, Lt.-Col. G. A. Drew, Major-General Garnet Hughes, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, V.D., A.D.C., Colonel Alexander Fraser, A.D.C., Lt.-Col. Baptist Johnston, V.D., Messrs. Robert Fennell, S. J. Frame, Gordon Hewitt, Jr., C. V. Syrett, Dana Porter, R. T. Stanley, Hugh S. Eayrs (Immediate Past President) Dr. Elias Clouse, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C., and Mr. J. F. M. Stewart (chosen by the Past Presidents) Mr. H. T. Jamieson, C. A. Honourary Auditor.

Dr. P. E. Doolittle moved the adoption of these reports. This was seconded by Dr. W. J. Harvey, who praised the high quality of the service rendered during the year by the officers of the Club. The report was adopted.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

The Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ending on the 31st December, 1929 was presented as audited and certified to by the Honourary Treasurer Mr. H. T. Jamieson, C.A., as follows:—

Receipts

Balance brought forward, 1st January, 1929,			$52.23
Income:			
Annual Fees:			
Resident	$4,254.00		
Non-Resident	73.50		
Junior	14.00		
		$4,341.50	
Life Membership		50.00	
Sale of Year Book		5.00	
Bank Interest		24.19	
			$4,420.69
			$4,472.92

Payments

Expenditure—General Expenses:			
Salary (On Account)	$ 800.00		
Printing and Sationery, including cost of Year Book	1,971.37		
Telegrams and Telephone	90.01		
Entertainments and Travelling Expenses	866.23		
Reporting	192.00		
Office Expense	127.15		
Miscellaneous	63.25		
		$4,110.01	
Guests and Luncheons		332.74	
			$4,442.75
Cash on Hand, 31st December, 1929			$30.17

The President said the next item was the President's "Swan Song". He expressed his gratitude for the warm and hearty co-operation he had received from Mr. Morris, the Secretary, from Col. Drew, his predecessor, and also from the Executive Committee and the membership at large. He added that if he had been able to serve the Club in any way the delight had been his own. He then introduced the President-elect, Mr. J. D. Spence, K.C., saying,—Mr. Spence is such a distinguished member of the Bar and a prominent citizen that it is not necessary for me to say much about him, more than that—with the exception of myself—he will have to follow a very distinquished line of successful Presidents.

Mr. Spence was received with applause when he took the President's chair. He said,—I feel very distinctly and very gratefully the honour you have done me in making me to be your President. I feel also the responsibility that goes with that honour. As if I would not have been sufficiently conscious of the responsibility and the honour of the office, your Seating Committee has arrayed on either side of me the Past-Presidents of the Club, in order that I might see to what heights I am expected to attain. (Laughter.) I can only say that I shall, at all events, do my utmost during the coming year to answer the expectations of those who were good enough to nominate and elect me to this office. I have a hard man to follow. Mr. Eayrs—if I might say so in his presence—has an unusual combination of all the qualities that go to make a first-class President of such a Club as this (Applause.) He has executive ability, business experience, knowledge of men and affairs, literary knowledge, and ability to precede and follow the speaker of the day with remarks that are at once courteous, happy and expressive (Applause); so that I doubt if in the history of the Club the speakers have been introduced and thanked as during Mr. Eayrs' term of office (Hear, hear). If I cannot emulate him in all the various qualities I have mentioned, I shall at all events try to emulate him in his brevity and in that incisiveness with which he has done his work during the past year. I thank you cordially, gentlemen, for this evidence of your confidence in me, and I promise you that all the service I can render during the next year shall be given to the Club most heartily. I now declare the meeting adjourned.

APPENDIX II

HONORARY PRESIDENTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1903-1927.

1903-1912. Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.*

1913. Field Marshall H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

1902-04. 1904-05.	Brig.-General James Mason.*
1905-06.	Reverend William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1906-07.	Mr. J. P. Murray.
1907-08.	Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
1908-09.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.
1909-10.	Mr. Elias Clouse, M.D.
1910-11.	Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.*
1911-12.	Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
1912-13.	Right Reverend James F. Sweeny, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
1913-14.	Mr. Justice James Craig.
1914-15.	Lieut.-Colonel R. J. Stuart.
1915-16.	Mr. Albert Ham, Mus. Doc.
1916-17.	Mr. James Black Perry.
1917-18.	Mr. Norman Sommerville, M.A., K.C.
1918.	Mr. F. J. Coombs.
1919.	Mr. R. A. Stapells.
1920.	Mr. Arthur Hewitt.
1921.	Brig.-General C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
1922.	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923.	Mr. Ellis H. Wilkinson.
1924.	Mr. William Brooks.
1925.	Rev. Dr. R. N. Burns.
1926.	Colonel A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon., A.D.C.
1927.	Colonel Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.
1928.	Mr. Robert Fennell.
1929.	Mr. Hugh S. Eayrs.

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS:

1904.	Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.*
1910.	Rt. Hon. Sir George W. Ross, LL.D.*
1920.	Colonel Alexander Fraser, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D.
1924.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.

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* Deceased.

APPENDIX III

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called the Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art.2.—The Membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British Subject and shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members.

Active Resident Members and Non-Resident Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Active Resident Members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and Non-Resident members $3.00, this fee to include membership obtained after October 15th in any year till December 31st of the following year. Payment of such fee shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Atr. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; and seventeen other members, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. These members together with the officers before mentioned, shall constitute the Executive Committee, and shall hold office throughout the calendar year. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President, and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than December 15th of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(*c*) Membership Committee.
(*d*) Constitution Committee.
(*e*) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(*f*) Publicity Committee.
(*g*) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. As the financial year does not end until December 31st, the Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at regular meeting of the Club held during the month of January.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year shall be the same as the calendar year, *viz.*: January first to December thirty-first.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.